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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

PERSIA

PART 3

January to December 1949

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

PERSIA.—PART 3

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

E 416/1015/34

No. 1

POSITION OF THE PERSIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE MAJLIS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 10th January)

(No. 1)
Sir,

Tehran,

2nd January, 1949.

As I have reported by telegram, the position of M. Sa'ed's Government has become definitely stronger since I wrote my despatch No. 396 of 8th December. The vote of confidence which I reported in my telegram No. 968, and the subsequent filling of most of the vacant Cabinet posts at last cleared the way for a start on the Government's programme; and the tabling of a resolution limiting Majlis obstruction, though the resolution itself was not voted, seems to have had some effect in reminding deputies of their responsibilities.

2. During the last few days M. Sa'ed has made further progress. In a press conference on 27th December, which he explained was the first of a series to be held at least twice a month and which was very favourably received, M. Sa'ed drew attention to the action already taken by the Government and explained its present policy; on the following day he received the overwhelming vote of 90 to 1 with 3 abstentions on the provisional budget for the remaining 4 months of the Persian year.

3. At the beginning of his press conference, M. Sa'ed described the steps which his Government had been able to take to improve the very difficult situation which he had found on coming to power. By rapid measures to settle outstanding grievances, particularly as regards pay, he had been successful in overcoming discontent among the University professors and school teachers who were threatening to paralyse the whole educational system by a strike. (This situation has arisen very largely owing to the rather clumsy tactics adopted by Dr. Eghbal, while Minister of Education in the previous Government to counter Tudeh influence among the teachers.) With regard to the food situation M. Sa'ed said that he had taken immediate action to rectify the mal-distribution of food grains, to reduce hoarding and to put an end to the restriction of supply which had resulted in long queues

at the bakeries. The situation had subsequently improved still further owing to early and copious falls of rain and snow, which increased confidence in the food situation for next year. He then defined the principal object of his policy to be to reduce the great inequalities which existed between the different classes of the population in order to strengthen the unity of the country. To this end he had submitted a bill introducing income tax (on which I am reporting separately) and he was proceeding with the Seven Year Plan principally in order to effect economic reforms, to give employment and to increase production so as to reduce economic inequality. As regards foreign relations, Persia would not permit any foreign power to intervene in internal politics and the Prime Minister expressed the hope that all Persian citizens would oppose efforts to establish a Fifth Column in the country. Persia wished for friendly relations with all her neighbours and he was happy to announce the re-opening of preliminary conversations with representatives of the Soviet Union for the resumption of commercial exchanges between the two countries. (The negotiations reported in Mr. Creswell's despatch No. 206 of 5th June have been in abeyance since the middle of the summer). He concluded by saying "Complete understanding exists between Persia and her Islamic neighbours and I hope in particular for an early solution of the Helmand River question. Our friendly relations with Great Britain and the United States continue to develop and the Government will pursue the negotiations in an atmosphere of sincerity for a solution of outstanding problems."

4. The Government's success in obtaining approval by so large a majority for expenditure in the next few months removes from the Majlis the most powerful weapon which might have been used to secure its collapse before the opening of the elections. It is now known to have been due to an understanding reached between the

Democrat (Qavam) and National Unity (pro-Government) fractions that if the former would support the voting of supplies the latter would agree to place on the agenda of the Chamber at an early date the finding of the judicial enquiry against Qavam-us-Sultaneh. I enclose a translation of this agreement. In agreeing to this bargain Democrat deputies somewhat modified their previous attitude, having no doubt become aware of the rising resentment in the country at their refusal even to vote supplies until charges against Qavam had been put to a vote. It would, however, be wrong to assume that this bargain will necessarily ensure the acquittal of Qavam and his immediate re-appearance on the political scene; for it is still open to the Government, either to bring in alternative charges against Qavam or to turn against his supporters the very tactics they themselves used in the last month, to bring Majlis proceedings to a standstill by withholding a quorum to prevent the Qavam case being discussed until the end of the four months period for which they have now received a vote of supply.

5. I am sending copies of this dispatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office at Cairo.

I have, &c

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 1

(Translation)

Agreement drawn up by the Democrat and National Unity Fractions

1. The two fractions agree to the approval of the report of the Budget Com-

mission dealing with the proposed Government Bill and of the annexures dealing with the provision of the Financial Commission concerning taxes. It is stipulated that the members of both fractions will refrain from making any proposal which might result in delaying this approval. They will also try to obtain the agreement of members of other fractions to this course.

2. After the approval of the above-mentioned report, the report of the Judicial Commission on Qavam-us-Sultaneh will be submitted without delay and finally disposed of. Until this report is submitted and finally disposed of no other proposal or Bill will be submitted.

3. After the Judicial Commission's report has been disposed of, the following Bills will be put forward:

(a) Seven-Year Plan.

(b) The Bill regarding the Municipalities and the Labour Law and other useful Bills which may have the approval of the Joint Committee.

The representatives of the Democrat and National Unity fractions have signed this agreement and undertake to see that it is agreed to by the members of their respective fractions.

National Unity Representatives

ASADOLLAH MAMAGHANI.

AMIMI NOSRAT ESKANDARI.

DR. MATIN DAFTARI.

Democrat Representatives

AHMAD SHARIATZADE.

JAVAD AMARI.

SALMAN ASADI.

22nd December, 1948.

E 757/1011/34

No. 2

EVENTS IN PERSIA DURING 1947 AND 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 17th January)

(No. 10)

Tehran,

Sir,

12th January, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 48 of 5th February, 1947, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the following general review of events in Persia during 1947 and 1948.

2. During the past two years Persia has been emerging very slowly from the aftermath of war, shaking off the hold which the

Soviet Union had sought to impose in North Persia and progressively reducing Soviet penetration. This process started in 1946 with the delayed withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces; it was continued by the removal, at the end of 1946, of the Pishvari satellite régime in Azerbaijan; and it was carried further with the rejection by the Majlis, in October 1947, of the proposed Soviet-Persian Oil Company for

northern Persia and by the consolidation of Persia's relations with the United States and ourselves in 1948. The reaction of the Soviet Government to Persia's slow disentanglement of herself from their toils was, on the whole, moderate; they did, however, deliver themselves of a series of threatening representations immediately before and after the rejection of the oil agreement in October 1947 and, from January 1948 onwards, of a further series of notes protesting against the voting of a credit for the purchase in the United States of some £10 million worth of military stores.

3. Coincident with this development of her international position, Persia has seen the evolution of a political tussle between Qavam on the one hand and the Shah and his supporters on the other, during the two years' term of the 15th Majlis, which was elected in the late spring and summer of 1947. Throughout that year the scene was dominated by Qavam and interest centred on the election and instalment of the Majlis, which consisted largely of his own followers, and on his skilful disposal of his previous undertaking to submit to it the project for the establishment of a Soviet-Persian Oil Company in North Persia. The year closed with the fall of Qavam and his departure from the country. The following year was chiefly conspicuous for a succession of weak and ineffectual Governments and a prolonged parliamentary deadlock following the return of Qavam from abroad and his determined attempt to force his way back to power. Throughout the period the Shah and his supporters have made no secret of their desire first to get rid of Qavam, then to prevent his return to office and at all times to strengthen the power of the Crown at the expense of the legislature.

4. The liberation of Azerbaijan in the closing days of 1946 was a first decisive step towards the frustration of the Soviet plan to establish a protectorate in North Persia following the withdrawal of the Red army in May of that year. With the sudden collapse of Pishvari and his puppet régime, the way was clear for the restoration of the authority of the Central Government throughout the national territory, but the Russians did not react and were clearly biding their time in the belief that the conclusion of the oil agreement would provide them with an effective card of re-entry into Persia. The formula on which they relied for that purpose was the

now familiar one of a "joint" operating company, which would, in fact, be entirely under their control and would give them unhindered access to all the northern provinces.

5. The actual expulsion of the Democrats from Azerbaijan was the work of a few days, the suppression of the last remnants of their flimsy régime took a little longer, but, in the nature of things, both these tasks devolved upon the armed forces. It was they who were acclaimed by the population and in their triumphal path that the sacrificial cattle and sheep were slaughtered. When the Shah visited the province in the following spring he received an ovation. Qavam, on the other hand, was given no credit for this spectacular operation, and it is doubtful how much he deserved. His negotiations with the Democrats during the previous months turned out to be an effective prelude to the climax, for when he saw how things were going he displayed characteristic skill in bringing the situation to a head, but there is little doubt that the initial impulse and the crucial decision were both taken by the Shah. Qavam was swept along by the current of events, and in Azerbaijan he was not unnaturally regarded as the man who would have sold the pass if he had been left to his own devices. He did not at any time visit the province and, in spite of a determined effort, he was unable to impose any of his candidates upon it in the general election which followed. To a man of Qavam's ambitious temperament this experience was particularly galling, and there is no doubt that it served to widen the existing rift between him and his sovereign. If the Shah had had his way he would have dismissed Qavam there and then, but, had he done so, he could not have escaped direct responsibility for dealing with Qavam's personal commitment to the Russians to submit the proposal for an oil agreement to the Majlis as soon as it could be constituted. In the end, reluctantly but providentially, he agreed to allow Qavam to extricate himself and his country from their dilemma before giving him his quietus.

6. The Imperial Firman ordering the general election had been issued on 5th October, 1946, and Qavam had lost no time in getting to work in the constituencies. By methods which are traditional in this country and of which he is a past master, he succeeded in securing the return of his nominees everywhere except

in Azerbaijan and certain constituencies where the Shah and the army insisted on the election of candidates of their own choosing. An interesting feature of the election was that, before polling took place, a group of Qavam's political opponents took "bast" in the precincts of the Royal Palace at Tehran by way of protest against the blatancy with which seats were being sold to the highest bidders. For obvious reasons polling was delayed in Azerbaijan and also in Fars, where the general amnesty of the Qashqai and their allies in the tribal revolt of the previous autumn was followed by some hard bargaining over Qavam's candidates, who were eventually returned. By July some 110 Deputies had been elected, of whom ninety undertook to support Qavam, and the interminable process of scrutinising electoral mandates and electing officers began.

7. By the end of September it was nearly complete, but, in the meantime, the Soviet Ambassador had not been idle. Early in August he reminded Qavam that action on his undertaking was now overdue and confronted him with the text of an agreement embodying the provisions enumerated in the letters exchanged between them fifteen months before. He warned him that he and his country were at the parting of the ways: they would have the Soviet Union's closest friendship and support if the agreement were ratified, but, if it were not, they must prepare themselves to be treated as "blood enemies." Qavam replied that he was bound only to submit proposal to the Majlis and could not determine the result. Notwithstanding the fact that the Chamber was packed with his personal supporters, it was already fairly clear that it would not have allowed even him to force the agreement through if he had wished to do so. Truth and expediency, therefore, went hand in hand, but Qavam's main concern at this stage was to clear himself in the eyes of his countrymen and to hold on to office after the rejection of the agreement. His first move in the Majlis was to submit to it a report on the circumstances leading up to the exchange of letters, and in it he sought to demonstrate that, although under strong pressure, he had acted in the best interests of the country. He did not recommend either the acceptance of the agreement or its rejection, but suggested referring it to a committee. In the event on 23rd October a single article resolution was passed under double urgency procedure with only one dissentient voice.

The provisions of this resolution were as follows:—

- (a) The Qavam-Sadishikov exchange of letters in 1946 was considered null and void and without effect, although it was stated that the Prime Minister had acted in good faith in undertaking the discussions.
- (b) A technical and scientific survey of oil deposits should be undertaken by the Government within a period of five years, so that the Majlis might make arrangements, in the form of laws, for the commercial exploitation of these deposits.
- (c) No oil concessions should be granted to foreigners nor any companies established with foreign shareholding for the purpose of exploiting Persia's oil resources.
- (d) The Government might negotiate with the Soviet Government for the sale of any oil found in Northern Persia under (b) above.
- (e) The Government should undertake negotiations and measures to "redeem the rights of the nation" regarding the country's resources in instances where these rights had been impaired," especially regarding the oil in the south."

8. The final paragraph, as originally drafted, contained specific references to Bahrein and to the Anglo-Iranian concession. These were subsequently dropped, but they were soon to crop up again in another form and in another place. The passage of the resolution induced a widespread sense of relief not unmingled with apprehension. The Russian reaction was remarkably moderate, almost ominously so. There were two stern notes of protest in November and violent press and wireless attacks on Qavam. The latter was already confronted by a rising tide of opposition at home, largely sponsored by the Shah, whose resentment and jealousy could no longer be restrained. Qavam's Democrat Party was split, his majority in the Majlis crumbled away and eventually, at the beginning of December his entire Cabinet resigned, leaving him completely isolated. Shortly before this happened Qavam delivered a broadcast to the nation on 1st December in which he sought to vindicate himself. He severely criticised the Military Government of Azerbaijan, and it was felt that some of his allusions were directed against the Shah. It was this belief which led to

the resignation of his Cabinet. One feature of the broadcast, which he repeated in an address to members of his party two days later, was a reference to the restitution of Persian rights in Bahrein and in the oil of the south. This repeated echo of the concluding sentences of the resolution rejecting the oil agreement was certainly not fortuitous. In part it may have been inspired by a desire to rally the forces of the Left in this country and to curry favour with the Russians, but there is no doubt that it was also intended to embarrass the British, on whose support Qavam had counted to persuade the Shah to retain him in office. After an unsuccessful attempt to secure a majority in the Majlis, he resigned himself to the inevitable and in the closing days of the year he left the country for Europe.

9. Qavam left behind him a newly constituted Majlis of his own choosing which was in no way united, even in its allegiance to himself, and was largely composed of time-servers who had been prepared to pay his price. They were devoid of any constructive purpose, filled with self-satisfaction at having thrown out the oil agreement and armed with powers designed to make of their Chamber a brake on all initiative. After the President of the Majlis—a supreme nonentity—had failed in his attempt to form a Government, the Shah prevailed upon a veteran politician, Ibrahim Hakimi, to do so. The result was not impressive and it was generally believed that the new Government would be a mere stop-gap. It was, however, gradually built up and strengthened and lasted until June. Hakimi's first concern was to abolish some of the more flagrant abuses of the previous régime, in particular military government and administrative extravagance. He also lived up to his promise to turn a deaf ear to the agitation about Bahrein, which was just developing. On the positive side, he earmarked for capital works a gradually increasing proportion of Anglo-Persian royalties, which were previously used to swell current revenue. This decision was based upon a report prepared for Qavam by Dr. Mosharraf Nafey, who had been entrusted with the task of working out a Seven-Year Plan of economic and social development. This report was published in January and foreshadowed legislation to establish and finance a semi-autonomous organisation for the execution of the plan.

10. At the end of January 1948 a strongly worded note of protest was received from the Soviet Government complaining of the activities of the United States Military Mission in Persia and claiming that they constituted a potential threat to the Soviet Union. The note contained an ominous reference to the 1921 Soviet Treaty with Persia, which provided, in certain circumstances, for the occupation of one country by the military forces of the other. The Persian Government at once replied categorically denying the truth or relevance of this charge. Two months later there was a further similar exchange of notes, and the advisability of communicating the whole correspondence to the Security Council was subsequently discussed, but, by the end of the year no action had been taken.

11. In the early days of the year the Shah informed the United States and British Ambassadors in strict confidence of his wish to modify the Constitution by extending the prerogative so as to include, in certain circumstances, the right of veto and dissolution and the right to appoint and dismiss Ministers. These changes were modelled on Constitutions in force in certain European countries, notably in Sweden; and in view of the irresponsible attitude of the Majlis were not, in themselves, unreasonable. But it was felt that the time was not ripe to introduce them, and the Shah was advised to hold his hand. Unfortunately, His Majesty also discussed the project with others, who were less careful to respect his confidence, and before long an agitation against the threat of "dictatorship" began to develop. The prime movers in this were a popular mullah, Seyyid Abol Ghassem Kashani, and Seyyid Zia, the veteran politician and journalist, who was arrested by Qavam and had just been released. This agitation soon gathered strength and was exploited by the Tudeh Party and other Left-wing elements to undermine the Shah's authority and to estrange him from his people. Fuel was added to the flame early in February with the mysterious murder of a Radical journalist, Mohammad Maz'oud, who had criticised the court and the army with great temerity and was widely believed to have been the victim of their revenge. Combined with the vacillation of the Government and the deliberate futility of the Majlis, all this was most conducive to the spread of Communist doctrine and

there is good reason to believe that the party has not been slow to take advantage of it.

12. Soon after the Persian New Year in March the Government was considerably strengthened by the accession of four new Ministers, including a former Prime Minister, Soheily, and two members of Qavam's last Administration, and in spite of the further acrimonious exchanges with the Soviet Government to which reference has been made, it became apparent that the Russians had decided to change their tactics. For the first time in nearly six months the Soviet Ambassador emerged from his retreat and was to be seen at public functions. He also paid a visit to Meshed to inspect Soviet establishments there, and perhaps to get first-hand knowledge of the security zone which had been established at the end of 1947 by the General Staff inside the national frontiers for the purpose of preventing political infiltration. Early in May trade talks were started with the Russians and they have continued intermittently ever since, but so far without any tangible result.

13. Soon after the return of Qavam from abroad in May it became clear that the situation had changed. Instead of gathering strength Hakimi encountered mounting opposition in the Majlis and his determined and exceptionally honest Minister of Finance, M. Hadjm, became one of the chief targets for frustrated circumventors of the law. Early in June the Government fell, and on 13th June, to the accompaniment of several days of hostile street demonstrations organised by Kashani, the Hajir Government was formed. As Minister of Finance under Qavam the new Prime Minister had earned a reputation for ability, intelligence and sincerity, and he was known to be in the close counsels of the Shah and to share many of His Majesty's views. High hopes had been placed on him, but he turned out to be entirely devoid of leadership and constantly under attack for being a court nominee; during his five months' tenure of office he achieved next to nothing.

14. On 18th July the Shah left the country for an absence of nearly six weeks, during which he spent just over a fortnight in England and the remainder of the time

in France, Switzerland and Italy. He travelled to and from England in a York aircraft provided by the Royal Air Force Transport Command, and while in England spent two nights at Buckingham Palace as the guest of Their Majesties the King and Queen. There is no doubt that this journey has been a liberal education for the Shah, who had previously seen little of the outside world apart from his school-days in Switzerland. At the same time it has brought home to him in no uncertain manner how much there is to be done in this country before the conditions of life can be considered even remotely tolerable, if judged by Western standards. After some misgiving at the start, local reactions to the journey have been quite favourable and, in spite of the Shah's instructions to the contrary, he was given a spectacular welcome on his return.

15. The concluding months of the year have produced little but frustration and apprehension. By the end of October, in spite of repeated votes of confidence, Hajir was brought to a complete standstill by the Majlis, where Qavam's supporters insisted on boycotting all legislation until the Chamber had withdrawn charges of corruption which had been brought against him during his absence from the country. His opponents were convinced that, once acquitted, Qavam would not rest until he had forced his way back into power and, led by the Shah, they resolutely refused to allow a final vote to be taken in his case. Thus the deadlock was complete. During November, however, Hajir was succeeded by Mohammed Sa'ed, an elderly diplomatist who had been Prime Minister in 1944. After a slow start Sa'ed has consolidated his position and has apparently agreed to allow a vote to be taken in Qavam's case, provided that the budget for the balance of the fiscal year is voted first. With the voting of immediately necessary funds one part of this bargain has been kept, but it still remains to be seen whether Sa'ed will implement the other, or whether he intends to spin matters out so as to prevent Qavam from freeing himself in time to control the next general election, which is due to take place in the spring.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN AZERBAIJAN

July-December 1948

Consul-General Pott to Mr. Bevin (Received 1st February)

(No. 9. Confidential)

His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit, with reference to Tabriz Despatch No. 22 of 24th July, 1948, a copy of Tabriz Despatch No. 4 of 21st January, 1949, to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tehran, regarding the political situation in Azerbaijan, from 1st July to 31st December, 1948.

Tabriz, 21st January, 1949.

Enclosure 1 in No. 3

Consul-General Pott to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 4)

Tabriz,

21st January, 1949.

With reference to my dispatch No. 13 of the 24th July, 1948, I have the honour to transmit herewith a review of the political situation in Azerbaijan during the period from 1st July to 31st December, 1948.

2. Copy of this despatch has been sent to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and copies of the report to the recipients of my monthly Diary.

I have, &c.

LESLIE POTT.

Enclosure 2 in No. 3

Political Situation in Azerbaijan,
1st July-31st December, 1948

The situation in Azerbaijan by the end of 1948 showed little change from six months earlier. While hopes of improved conditions continued to be disappointed, fears of worse to come proved premature.

2. In Tehran the Prime Minister, M. Nazhir, had already, in June, made the gesture of appointing Jemal Imami as Minister without portfolio, to supervise the affairs of the province. In response to popular demands, he recalled the Governor-General, Ali Mansur, in July. Then, to the consternation and dismay of the vast majority in Azerbaijan, he proceeded to force through the Majlis, in August, his

Amnesty Bill providing for the liberation of large numbers of persons who had been deported from Azerbaijan, or imprisoned, on account of their behaviour during the Azerbaijan Revolt. His next and last official act and deed for Azerbaijan was to appoint his Minister of Interior, Khalil Fahimi, as Governor-General in early October. Given the powers, M. Nazhir might have succeeded in infusing a feeling of greater confidence into the province. As it was, the Majlis that had given him a vote of confidence refused him those powers, so that he was compelled to resign in early November. So much for the stable Government in Tehran to which the people of Azerbaijan had so long looked forward. M. Nazhir's successor, Mohammed Na'ed, popular in the province as an Azerbaijani by origin and a former Deputy for Remaich, for all his prestige in the country was obliged to continue the struggle with an obstructive Majlis.

3. In September the local military authorities were exercised by reports of the evacuation of civilians from Soviet Astara and villages all along the frontier. Soviet manoeuvres gave the impression, along the Trans-Caucasian railway, of being on an ominously large scale, and parties of irregulars were seen beyond the River Araxes. Towards the end of October the frontier was violated by Soviet troops, north of Ardebil, between Astara and the River Araxes, and one Persian soldier was killed. The local military authorities were reticent on the subject, presumably on instructions from Tehran, where the Chief of the General Staff professed to believe that the incursion was accidental and due to the fact that the frontier in the area concerned was not clearly defined.

4. In July and August numbers of wives and children of Soviet officials returned to Russia for an indefinite period. After an absence of seven months in Russia, the Soviet Consul-General in Tabriz, Arkadi Frasnikh, returned at the end of October to the post he held during the Azerbaijan Democrat régime. Soon after, M. Sadchikov, Soviet Ambassador, returned from Moscow to his post in Tehran.

5. Soviet propaganda from Moscow, Baku and the clandestine Azerbaijan Democrat radios continued to fulminate

against the administration in Azerbaijan and against Anglo-Saxon, particularly American "imperialist" activities throughout the province. A gloomy picture was painted of a people without bread, water or light, living under the yoke of slavery. M. Fahimi was branded as a British spy and Marshal Shahbakhti as a fool of the Americans. The application of the Amnesty Law was criticised. It was alleged that it had been followed by the arrest of large numbers of people and that only a fraction of the deportees had been allowed to return to the province, where they were now being persecuted and refused employment by the authorities. American military advisers were reported to have arrived in Tabriz and to be busy looking for a site for an airfield in the prohibited frontier zone. A stream of American officers was arriving over the Turkish frontier. Persian territory west of Lake Resaich was to be ceded to Turkey under American auspices. The O.D.C. in Resaich was preparing the way for the entry of a Turkish army of occupation in Azerbaijan.

6. On 12th December the second anniversary of the liberation of Azerbaijan from the Democrats was the occasion for demonstrations of loyalty to the Crown and of gratitude to the army, personified in Marshal Shahbakhti. Although the demonstrations were organised at the request of the authorities to counter Soviet propaganda attacks on the province, they were by no means lacking in enthusiasm.

7. A high standard of public security was maintained in spite of the return to the province, under the terms of the Amnesty Law, of most of the persons of doubtful loyalty deported to the south. Measures were taken to cope with the problem of increased unemployment. But the landowners and merchants who had evacuated themselves to Tehran, viewing the Azerbaijani scene against the background of a rapidly deteriorating world political situation, still saw nothing to tempt them to return and join in the work of reconstruction. By the end of December Azerbaijan had sunk into its winter sleep. All was quiet and news was scarce.

8. The population and the civil and military authorities in Azerbaijan, as time has passed, have continued to find it difficult to reconcile themselves to the situation created by the approval of the Amnesty Bill. That the Azerbaijan Deputies to the Majlis should have voted in favour of the Bill was incomprehensible to most of the inhabitants. Bitter reproaches were made

against M. Tsaizadeh as the villain of the piece who knew full well the consequences but had an eye to the main chance. A thinking few suspected that the measure was dictated by Soviet threats rather than inspired by truly democratic ideals. The civil and military authorities, having taken their precautions, spoke with one voice in professing officially to have no fear of a deterioration in public security in consequence of the return to the provinces of close on 4,000 deportees. Most of them had gone to the villages, it was said, and every one of them was closely watched. There were ample funds for the secret police, and the population were collaborating only too readily in their surveillance. For the present, it was claimed, the ex-deportees could do no harm. Some might be in touch with the Russians but not without the knowledge of the authorities. Short of serious economic distress or a Soviet coup in the province, these doubtful elements would remain quiescent for the time being. Those in need who applied to the authorities were given financial assistance, and funds were requested from Tehran for this purpose. Other destitute ex-deportees got into touch with their Russian friends again and received money in return for a promise to help now, or when the time came. More than one prosperous-looking shop was opened in Tabriz by a recently returned *muhajir*.

9. With the passing of the Amnesty Bill coincided the reappearance in Tabriz of the weekly newspaper *Fariad*, edited by Eusseinguli Fatibi who had rallied to Pischever's banner for a time. This phenomenon was hard to explain except as a result of possible Soviet pressure for freedom of the press in Azerbaijan. *Fariad* has become gradually less and less distinguishable from a Soviet newspaper aid, unless the editor changes its tone, it is expected that the authorities will be compelled to suppress it. The newspaper has a circulation of 1,000 copies, most of which are sent unsolicited, without payment, to selected addresses in Azerbaijan, including Government departments and consulates. That the venture is inspired and assisted from Soviet sources there appears to be no doubt, although proof of this is still apparently lacking. Readers of the newspaper resent the crude Soviet propaganda it contains as an insult to their intelligence.

10. Khalil Pshimi, the new Governor-General, came to Azerbaijan with the experience of two previous periods of office there. Less able than Ali Sanaur, his gifts

of sympathy and understanding and the lively interest he has taken in every aspect of life in the province have contributed in no small measure to the smoother running of the administration. But great things are not expected of him. He is looked upon as a kindly old gentleman who could hardly be expected to cope with an aggressive Soviet policy in the province.

11. In July this Consulate-General began discreetly to issue a daily news bulletin in Persian which was widely used by the local press. Equally discreetly in November, the British Council Centre in Tabriz started its English classes, for which 150 students were registered, while for many more there were no teachers.

12. After the death in September of Hesses Melik-Pankian the see of the Armenian Archbishopric of Azerbaijan remained vacant. Soviet attempts to obtain the election of Bishop Drampian, of Tehran, were resisted by the Armenian community but there was an increase in Left-Wing influence in the Armenian council for the province.

13. There were temporary shortages of bread during the summer: at Ardebil, where the population staged a demonstration resulting in the removal of the Governor, and at Maraghab and Sahabad; but the bread situation was mostly satisfactory in the province. Although the wheat and barley crops were very good, anxiety was caused for a time by the daily rise in prices due to hoarding and speculation occasioned by the widening gap between the ceiling price payable by the Government and the black market price. In the first half of November the prolonged drought led to a further increase in prices; but by early December abundant rain had brought them down by 10 to 15 per cent. The authorities said that there were ample supplies of grain in the province until the next harvest but that transport was a problem.

14. The dried fruit crops also were mostly very good. Purchases of raisins were made by the Russians and the British Ministry of Food.

15. In September all exports of Russian oil products to Azerbaijan ceased. It is not expected that they will be resumed, except possibly on the conclusion of some kind of barter agreement with the Russians.

16. The new Governor-General, Rhalil Pshimi, sought ways and means of reviving the economic life of the province. With regard to factories, armed with a credit of 10 million rials he applied himself to

problems of increased output, employment and markets. He pursued the question of creating outlets for exports from the province, particularly dried fruits, by developing trade routes to Turkey, Central Europe and Hamburg via Bazerun, Erzerum and Trebizond, and to Iraq and the Mediterranean via Khanah, Rowanduz and Alexandretta. By arranging for consignments from abroad destined for Azerbaijan to be forwarded, as before the Russian Occupation, to the Customs in Tabriz to be cleared there, instead of in Khorromshahr, Bandar Whahpur or Tehran, he hoped to accelerate the delivery of imports and encourage wavering Azerbaijani merchants in Tehran to return to the province.

17. For public works in Azerbaijan M. Pahimi obtained a loan from the National Bank, repayable from municipal taxes, of 10 million rials, of which 7,500,000 rials were for the Tabriz Water Municipality. He pressed for the completion by the Tabriz Water Company, formed in January 1948, of the covered reservoir at Mahpeyker, left unfinished by the Democrats, and for the laying of pipes into Tabriz to carry the drinking water of the Ab-i-Hayat channel which is to feed the reservoir. As the Tabriz Electricity Company could offer no prospect of its being able to provide an adequate electricity supply, the Governor-General proposed that factories should be invited to contribute light to various quarters of the town and that any persons who might be willing to import electric light plant be given every facility to do so.

18. The improvement of communications with Tehran was recognised by the Governor-General as a means of improving economic conditions in the province. The ideal was the completion of the Mianeh-Tabriz section of the railway from Tehran, the psychological effect of which would be tremendous. The province would feel no longer isolated from the capital, and merchants and landlords might be tempted to return. But the need from rails from abroad must delay the completion of the railway for several years yet. In the meantime, the Governor-General hoped to encourage the use of the railway between Tehran and Mianeh by arranging for an adequate bus service to connect with the train and for the booking of through tickets by rail and road between Tehran and Tabriz.

19. Projects for the completion of the railway also offered employment for several thousands. In November 1947, 7,000

persons were stated to be employed on the work. In November 1948, however, it was reported that work had stopped owing to lack of funds. Returned deportees increased the number of unemployed. Public works undertakings in the spring should again reduce the number. Mean-

while, relief, mostly from private sources, is organised under official auspices, each quarter of Tabriz, for instance, making itself responsible for the relief of its own unemployed.

LESLIE POTT,
Consul-General.

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No. 4

ANGLO-PERSIAN RELATIONS

Extension of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's Concession Attacked in the Majlis

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 7th February)

(No. 47) *Tehran,*
Sir, *2nd February, 1949.*

As stated in my telegram No. 94 of 31st January containing a summary of the speech made by Monsieur Taqizadeh in the Majlis on 27th January, the occasion of this speech was the debate on an interpellation by M. Abbas Iskandari on the following three points:—

- (1) Mistaken economic policy, particularly concerning the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, with particular reference to the interview accorded by the Prime Minister to Reuter's Correspondent, in the report of which appears the sentence—"My Government intends to safeguard the interests of Iran and to insist upon the strict observance of certain articles of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company Concession."
- (2) Absence of protest by the Government at the construction of refineries by the Company outside Iran.
- (3) Mistaken policy in general and incompetence of members of the Government.

M. Iskandari started speaking on 23rd January and continued to do so for the greater part of three sessions. He developed the familiar theme that oil, the life-blood of Persia, was being stolen by the British. After a long historical exposé he arrived at the present day and blamed the Government for having done nothing to fulfil the promises made in M. Sa'ed's twelve-point programme. All three Governments which had held office in the last year had undertaken to uphold Persia's rights to the southern oil, but none had done so. He praised Dr. Mussadiq for the law prohibit-

ing foreign concessions which bears his name and challenged M. Taqizadeh to say how it was that the concession had come to be prolonged. He said that Qavam-us-Saltaneh had fallen from power, not on account of his many faults, but because it looked as if he would do something about the southern oil and about Bahrein. But nobody had done anything, and it had been left to him, Abbas Iskandari, to raise these questions over and over again in the 15th Majlis. He produced a letter to show that Taqizadeh himself really believed the Concession to be null and void and condemned as aggressive propaganda the visit of naval units to the Persian Gulf and the use, in Bahrein, of postage stamps bearing the portrait of His Majesty King George VI. He concluded in tears, calling upon the Majlis to show its lack of confidence in a Prime Minister who, in an interview with Reuters' Correspondent, had said that his Government insisted on the application of certain articles of the Concession.

2. The effect of this speech on the Majlis was probably a reason for M. Taqizadeh's decision to reply at once. For all his exaggeration and his histrionics, Abbas Iskandari is a fine orator and although the insults which he constantly employs against his political opponents may infuriate the majority of the deputies, his eternal theme of foreign persecution finds an echo in the minds of most Persians.

3. M. Taqizadeh then briefly explained how it was that the Concession had come to be prolonged. While emphasising Reza Shah's patriotism he explained that, by his sudden cancellation of the Concession before proper thought had been given to what was to take its place, the late Shah had become involved in direct negotiations with the Company and, rather than rescind

his original order, had agreed on an extension. The text of the speech is attached. As explained in my telegram No. 95 of 31st January, this speech aroused considerable interest, and has not improved the outlook so far as the forthcoming negotiations between the Company and the Persian Government are concerned. There is a growing tendency both in the press and among the public to contend that a Concession signed under such circumstances cannot be considered valid.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 4

"In view of the special interest shown by Mr. Iskandari in the oil question and his repeated references to me, I feel I should make a brief statement on the subject. Though I had intended to say nothing, I feel it is my duty to prevent simple people from being misled. It has always been a characteristic of mine to face a challenge boldly, but I do not consider it proper to bear malice.

Mr. Iskandari's attacks upon eminent and upright people were almost all fabulous. I deal now with that part concerning myself.

After my return to Iran from a foreign mission, many friends asked me to write an account about the Oil Agreement. Although such an account would have been good for my prestige, there were stronger reasons which prevented me writing it. It was not in the interests of the country, nor do I yet consider it safe to make any public declaration on the matter. However, I am prepared to disclose the facts privately to any well-intentioned person or a group of such people. If the Speaker would like to convoke a committee, I shall state the bare facts quite simply.

With regard to the oil question, I do not contest part of Mr. Iskandari's declarations. Though in general his speech was based on incomplete or false information, I do not propose to deal with it.

Historic events should always be studied in the light of the time and place of their occurrence. It is easy to draw the wrong conclusions from an extract from a speech which has been taken out of its context.

One day Mr. Iskandari wrote me a friendly letter expressing the hope that I did not feel any grievance against him. I sent him a friendly reply which, it seems, he has kept specially for today and which he has even had reproduced.

The most important event in this country during the past thirty years was the appearance of a powerful man who dominated the lives, properties and actions of the people. Certainly, he was patriotic and did much good to the country. Yet, as a human being, he had his shortcomings, which may be forgiven in view of his great services.

One of the defects which injured his fame was his ruthless conduct towards anyone who offended him for any reason at all. I was myself the subject of his wrath and, had I been within his reach, I should have suffered the same fate as others.

The Shah had firmly decided to cancel all unsatisfactory foreign treaties and concessions and to stop foreign interference with the rights of his subjects. He completely achieved this purpose and had only to deal with the D'Arcy Concession.

Therefore, he took steps to secure the rights of Iran in the southern oil. The matter was protracted so long that the Shah lost patience. One day, he unexpectedly ordered the cancellation of the Concession. His orders were usually carried out within the hour, and action was particularly quick in this case, because he was extremely angry. Nobody dared to question his decision or give him advice.

This was a great error on the part of the late Shah. Patriotic statesmen did not consider the cancellation wise.

I do not mean that the D'Arcy Concession should have remained unaltered, but its unexpected cancellation, without any prior consideration, created difficulties which were responsible for the new Agreement with its undesirable terms.

The A.I.O.C. lodged a complaint and the British Government backed it and asked for arbitration. The case was referred to the League of Nations and Messrs. Ala and Davar went to Geneva. Before that the matter had been handled by Mr. Forugh, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Before the League of Nations had issued any award, direct negotiations were recommended. As the Iranian Government declared that they had cancelled the Concession because it was unsatisfactory, and that they were ready to grant a new concession consistent with Iranian interests (obviously, for the remaining period of the D'Arcy Concession), the

delegates came to Tehran in an endeavour to arrive at a settlement on that basis.

Messrs. Forughi, Davar, Ala and myself started negotiations. Several weeks elapsed without any result. It was, however, concluded that if certain concessions were allowed by both parties, any new plan would be better than the D'Arcy Concession. Finally, no agreement was obtained, the A.I.O.C. representatives decided to return and duly informed the Shah.

At this point, it seemed that the Shah felt anxious about the outcome of the matter and decided to be moderate. He personally tried to come to agreement with the A.I.O.C. representatives. Had the matter been concluded on the terms of the present Agreement, exclusive of the extension of the D'Arcy Concession, it would have been highly preferable to the old Concession. Anyone who thinks otherwise is making a grave mistake. But on the last day, the question of the extension was suddenly brought up. The A.I.O.C. representatives insisted on this point and threatened to leave Iran immediately. We were greatly concerned by this turn of events but were deprived of all powers and so it happened that the extension was agreed. You all know that no-one had the audacity to stand against the will of the almighty ruler of that time. He was, apparently, concerned with the outcome of the matter and was stubbornly against the restoration of the former Concession. There was no other alternative, and no one could foresee what the League of Nations' award would have been, had the case been referred once again to that authority.

When I say that there was no alternative, it should not be interpreted that the persons concerned were anxious about themselves. Their concern was equally for

the consequences the dispute involved for the country. Resort to passive resistance would have given rise to difficulties. The whole question hinges on this last sentence which I do not want to discuss.

As for me, I had no part whatsoever in this business except that my signature appears on the paper. It was immaterial whether I signed or not, because someone else would have immediately signed if I had not. Refusal of one of the signatories—if it were at all possible to refuse—could not have altered the course of events in the slightest degree. None of us favoured the extension of the Concession. At the outset, the Shah himself was not ready to acquiesce in the extension and when the A.I.O.C. representatives brought up the proposals he was amazed and said: 'Why, this is quite impossible. We have for thirty years cursed those who granted the Concession in the first place. Do you want us to be cursed by future generations for fifty years?' Anyhow, he finally yielded to insistence.

Should we sincerely desire to vindicate our rights, it would be inadvisable at this moment, when negotiations are current and hopes are high for a satisfactory result, to create excitement and weaken the Government by constant attacks—a situation which would jeopardize our object. Back the Government, listen to the result of the preliminary negotiations. Should you find them undesirable, make your suggestions instead of starting an uproar at the very beginning and harming your cause.

We must set aside private views. The course we have adopted is not the right one. I should say that eighty per cent. of Mr Iskandari's statements were groundless.

I shall be very grateful if you will arrange for a secret session at which I can tell you all I know on this subject."

when one of the group of pressmen who were preparing to take photographs ran forward to within a few paces of His Majesty, produced a revolver and fired five shots in rapid succession. The magazine contained six cartridges; the first three shots riddled the Shah's uniform cap, the fourth inflicted a flesh wound on his face—the bullet going in under the left nostril, narrowly missing the jaw, and coming out in the right cheek; the fifth hit His Majesty in the side, narrowly missing his spine and shoulder blade, while the sixth cartridge failed to explode although the percussion cap was dented by the striker mechanism. Had this last shot gone off it would probably have been fatal, since, though the first shots had been delivered from a range of about six or seven yards, the last one would have been fired from less than five feet away and was aimed at the Shah's stomach. Not only had the assailant come forward as he shot, but the Shah himself lunged at him, twisting his body as he did so to present a narrower target.

3. The members of the Shah's suite and the military personages accompanying His Majesty, however, showed a less aggressive and martial spirit. Prince Gholam Reza threw himself flat on the ground, while the others retreated by imperceptible degrees to a distance of about 20 yards. It was not until the assailant had thrown away his revolver and raised his hands above his head that the bodyguard, disobeying the order of General Yazdan Panah that he should be captured alive, opened fire on him with their Schmeisser automatics, inflicting the wounds from which he subsequently died.

4. After making an attempt to pursue his path into the hall in spite of the confusion, the Shah was able to walk back to his car and was driven off to hospital. The police shortly afterwards made a statement about the limited extent of the Shah's injuries and allowed the crowd to depart in small groups after about a quarter-of-an-hour. It was at once established that the assailant was a young man named Fakhr Aral who, though he had gained access to the ceremony by a card issued to him only a few hours before as representative of an extremist Moslem paper *Partsham Islam* (The Flag of Islam), was, in fact, a probationary member of the Tehran branch of the Tudeh Party.

5. After having his wounds dressed at the hospital, His Majesty was able to return to the Palace where consultations were carried

out with the Government and the military authorities. M. Sa'ed at once tendered the resignation of his Cabinet but was asked by the Shah to continue in power. Decrees were thereupon signed imposing martial law and a curfew in the capital and proscribing the Tudeh Party throughout the country. Within a few hours a number of arrests had been made, Tudeh headquarters had been occupied by the Police and military patrols were enforcing the curfew.

6. On the following day these measures were submitted to the Majlis for approval by the Minister of Health, Dr. Eghbal, who as well as being the Shah's principal physician was temporarily in charge of the Ministry of the Interior. In the course of his speech he gave some information about the results of the police search of Fakhr Aral's house, where they had discovered a booklet or diary containing various statements about the assailant's political ideas. One passage from the diary said that the measures taken in Azerbaijan in 1946 by the Shah and the authorities represented "the greatest crime which could have been committed against the members of a nation." Another extract read—"I belong to the Tudeh Party and devote my life to it entirely. I realise that that Party is supported by the Russians and that they know that their success in Persia depends upon it." They had also found on him a letter showing that he had premeditated the crime, and posed photographs showing him reading a book, the purpose of which was presumably to show that he was literate and that he was a serious student of politics. Copies⁽¹⁾ of these photographs were published in the press and are attached.

7. The arrests of members of the Tudeh Party which had started the day before continued on 5th February, and included Dr. Yazdi and members of the staff of the newspaper *Mardom*, as well as persons of quite different political complexions who had at some time been associated with newspapers attacking the Shah. The religious leader Sayed Abolghassem Kachani was exiled to the town of Khurramabad. Of the better-known Tudeh leaders, Reza Rousta, the Trade Union leader, is believed to be in Russia, though his brother was arrested, while Dr. Kechavarz and Dr. Radmaneeche, the Editor of *Mardom* and the Secretary-General of the Tudeh Party respectively, and certain other members of Tudeh Headquarters have eluded arrest but they are believed to be still in Tehran, possibly in the Soviet Embassy.

(¹) Not printed.

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE SHAH

Measures against the Tudeh Party

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bepin (Received 14th February)

(No. 50)

Tehran,

Sir,

9th February, 1949.

With reference to my telegrams Nos. 47 and 121, I have the honour to furnish the following account of the recent attempt on the Shah's life and of subsequent events.

2. The attempt took place at about 3 p.m. on Friday, 4th February, when the Shah was arriving at the University to attend the anniversary celebrations. His Majesty was about to be received by the University authorities at the entrance to the building

8. The Prime Minister has told me, and I have no reason to doubt the truth of this appreciation, that the attempt on the Shah's life formed part of an organised plot for a *coup d'état* in the capital. At the time of the attempt a group of about 100 thugs was seen just outside the University ready to take action, and two Tudeh motorcyclists were seen posted outside the nearby house of Dr. Kechavarz. At the same time, Tudeh demonstrations were in progress in a different part of the town celebrating the anniversary of the death in Tehran of Dr. Irani, the founder of the Tudeh Party. (In point of fact the dates did not coincide, but the demonstration had been purposely set for that day.) There were buses and trucks available in which the demonstrators could have been rapidly distributed through different parts of the town had the attempt been successful. For some time past, the police had received information which pointed to the early organisation of some such *coup*, and I had also received reports to the same effect. But, so far as I am aware, there is no definite evidence of direct Soviet participation in these plans, nor have reports yet reached me of Soviet reactions to subsequent measures. It may, however, be worthwhile to record that a Czechoslovak student was present among the photographers at the time of the attempt, and that a copy of the Constitution of the

Yugoslav Popular Republic and publications of the Irano-Yugoslav Cultural Association were found in the assailant's house.

9. I have reason to believe that the repressive measures against the Tudeh Party and other circles hostile to the Shah will be followed very shortly by more positive measures designed to put an end to the political stalemate which has arisen in the last few months and which has prevented the Majlis from carrying out any constructive work. In his broadcast to the people on 6th February, of which I enclose the French translation⁽¹⁾ which was printed in the *Journal de Teheran* yesterday, the Shah said that the attempt strengthened his determination to pursue the course which he had fixed to ensure the wellbeing of his people, and in a message which he read from his bed the same evening to representatives of Parliament whom he received His Majesty said that the incident should be followed not only by the punishment of traitors but by measures to improve the general standard of living and wellbeing of the people and to create employment.

10. I am glad to report that the Shah's wounds are healing rapidly and that he is none the worse for the attack.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

E 2403/1013/34

No. 6

EVENTS IN THE KERMANSHAH DISTRICT

Report for July-December 1948

(Communicated under cover of unnumbered Kermanshah despatch of 10th January)
(Received 21st February, 1949)

Vice Consul Roper-Curzon to Sir J. Le Rougetel

Kermanshah,
7th January, 1949.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit my report covering events in this area for the six months ending 31st December, 1948.

Introductory

The province of the V Ustan is mainly an agricultural region inhabited by peasants and tribesmen, partly nomadic, who have long been accustomed to living in conditions of poverty and primitiveness. Politics and

intrigues of the landowning classes do not disturb them unduly or tend to produce an articulate public opinion, and they foresee little hope in the future of being relieved from victimisation by officials.

A satisfactory harvest, well above average, has given the people a certain sense of security from want, at least until the prospects for next year are apparent. However this situation has been somewhat offset by the high cost of living generally, which for many has meant an inability to

save sufficient to carry them through the period of increased unemployment during the winter months.

Tribal areas have remained reasonably quiet, with the exception of the Javanrudi, the wildest and most troublesome of all the tribes, whom the military have recently tried to disarm.

The Tudeh party has shown signs of increasing activity and boldness, but it is doubtful if they are making much headway, except perhaps in Hamadan. The outpourings of pro-Russian sentiment in the *Bisitun* paper have been looked upon with considerable disfavour in some quarters.

Political

2. When fighting broke out in Palestine a certain amount of anti-Jewish sentiment was evident, especially among those with leanings towards the Tudeh party. Beyond insulting remarks no intimidation of Jews was resorted to, and the police gave any protection necessary. It was strongly rumoured that the Jewish shopkeepers paid handsomely for this protection.

3. In connexion with events in Palestine there is an organisation called Anjoman-i-Tablighat-i-Islami, which was formed for the propagation of the Islamic creed and the basic teachings of the Koran. Its members must be literate and are drawn mainly from the right wing.

4. With the exception of Qubadian, the other three deputies have done nothing to further the interests of their constituencies and rarely have anything to say in the Majlis. However Aziz Zanganeh and Doulatshahi, as well as Qubadian, being conscious of the approaching elections, visited Kermanshah in September to start intriguing for fresh support. Qubadian, who relies on the tribes with whom he is still popular, was busy renewing his doubtful claims to certain crown lands, of which he maintains he was dispossessed some six years ago.

5. On 30th September the Government ordered the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to cease pumping fuel oil from Naft-i-Shah to Khanakin. Pumping was resumed again on 7th October, but no information was obtainable here as to the reason for the stoppage.

6. In Hamadan the Labour Union, which has strong Left-wing sympathies, has enlarged its organisation. It is thought the Union is responsible for the reappearance on the streets of notice boards displaying copies of Tudeh newspapers.

For three and a half months the town has been without a Governor, Ghassam Mirza Fouladvand having been transferred to Tehran.

7. During the early part of November Sulaiman Beg Babajani appeared on the scene after an enforced absence of five years from the Kermanshah area. He obtained leave from Tehran, ostensibly to come and buy provisions, and then proceeded to pay visits to various tribal leaders. His mission was to advise them to give what assistance they could to the Russian forces in the event of another war. This he considered was imminent and expressed his opinion that Persia would become involved and be quickly overrun by the Russians. The Governor-General, who had been notified by this Consulate of this gentleman's activities, gave orders for his immediate return to Tehran.

8. An increase in religious fervour was noticeable during Muharram, both in Kermanshah, Hamadan and other centres. Many large processions took place on the principle days, all well marshalled by police. Military precautions as well were taken in Hamadan, but no incidents were reported.

9. Another society, with a religious basis, has been active in combating the consumption of alcohol in Kermanshah with some success, but not without resorting to various illegal practices with which the authorities did not interfere.

10. The Soviet Consulate activities have not been very pronounced, mainly consisting in the spread of propaganda in coffee shops and surrounding villages, with occasional visits to Hamadan. Permission to visit tribal districts has been consistently refused by the Governor-General.

A firm friend and admirer is to be found in the editor of the local Tudeh newspaper.

The Voks has a very limited appeal in spite of cultural and educational meetings and classes for teaching Russian. Whereas our Reading Room continues to be a popular rendezvous for two hundred or so a day to listen to the B.B.C. and read the papers.

Tribal

11. At the time when many troops from Northern Iraq were withdrawn for service on the Palestine front, there was some apprehension on both sides of the frontier that Kurdish tribes would start giving trouble, and there was the possibility that the Javanrudi might take the opportunity of crossing the border into Iraq. The Javanrudi have always been a general

nuisance and much given to armed robbery. Lorries and passengers on the Kermanshah-Paveh road have frequently been held up and robbed, while they have also been engaged in the smuggling of wheat, &c. across into Iraq. In July it was decided to take action and three battalions from the Kermanshah Brigade, amounting to about 750 strong, were despatched to the Javanrudi area for the main purpose of disarming the tribe, which till now had consistently refused to part with their rifles. The tribe disappeared into the hills and neighbouring tribes were asked to assist the military, a good opportunity for paying off old scores. About 500 of them were reported to have answered the call to help ferret out the Javanrudi in their mountain fastnesses. Eventually, after a little desultory fighting, terms were agreed upon for the tribe to hand in 150 of their 600 declared rifles, with another 150 to come later. It is however doubtful whether many more than 100 to 150 were handed over, and on the whole the Javanrudi have been treated very leniently.

One battalion is still maintained at various points along the frontier.

12 Chiefs from all the tribes in the province attended the gathering of tribal leaders in Tehran arranged by the C.G.S. The programme was voted a success, but some surprise was expressed by rival leaders that the Javanrudi representative should not only have been invited, but presented with a medal by the Shah along with others who had recently been fighting them.

General

13. During the dry months in Kermanshah considerable building operations have been in progress, both large and small houses going up, as well as humble mud brick huts. Work on a new hospital and departmental offices have also begun. The reverse is the case in Hamadan which for some time has been going down hill and losing its importance. Many landowners and merchants have deserted the town for Tehran or Kermanshah, consequently houses are easy to come by and no building goes on.

At one time general security in the district was far from satisfactory but since an increase in numbers of the Gendarmerie and the arrival of a small garrison of troops, security has sensibly improved.

14. Kermanshah for some years has suffered from three main disabilities—an

inadequate and wasteful water system, a heavily overworked electric power plant and the deplorable state of the streets. Not until the Autumn of this year, just the season not to choose, did repairs to the main thoroughfares begin, but needless to say all work has been held up by continuous frost. It is hoped, if the money holds out to start asphaltting in the Spring. Numerous conferences have been held in connexion with the above projects, piping the water supply and new power plants, but no concrete decisions have yet been arrived at. Newspapers continually complain of the state of the town and the apathy of Government officials, while on the occasion of a visit of a few hours by Prince Ghulam Reza, the populace seized the opportunity to shout their complaints at him. The Prince was also reported to have expressed his displeasure of prevailing conditions.

The new Mayor, although said to have Tudeh leanings, has shown some energy in formulating plans for these projects, but they involve relationships with the Kermanshah Petroleum Company, thereby at once introducing political issues. Rumours were started that the refinery intended to direct the supply of electricity to the town, and this pressure no doubt came from official sources. The refinery is of course only a small concern, established for the purpose of supplying oil products to Persia and does not possess the vast resources of the parent company.

Economic

15. The smuggling of wheat across the border into Iraq had reached alarming proportions until a frontier commission under General Shahbani took the matter in hand. It is now reported that his efforts have been largely successful in putting a stop to the practice in the Qasr-i-Shirin area.

16. In spite of the exceptionally good harvest in this province the price of wheat rose sharply at the end of November when the Government permitted owners to sell and move wheat to other towns. A demonstration by the populace and the closing of shops for one day did not alter the situation. However the position is quite sound as the available surplus amounts to about 30,000 tons, and good rains having fallen in December the prospects for next year are at the moment promising.

17. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, His Majesty's Consular Officers at Tabriz, Kirkuk and

Mosul, and the Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, British Forces in Iraq. I have, &c.

R. ROPER-CURZON

E 3440/1672/34

No. 7

PERSIAN PRESS LAW

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Brin (Received 14th March)

(No. 89)
Sir,

Tehran,
8th March, 1949.

As I had the honour to inform you in my telegram No. 203 of 5th March the revised draft of the Government's Press Bill was passed with three additional clauses by the Majlis on Thursday, 3rd March. A full translation of the law as published in the semi-official *Ettela'at* is enclosed.

2. Sections A to D of the law are substantially as set forth in the second enclosure to my despatch No. 60 of 15th February but the phrase now added to Section A in elaboration of "Holy Islam"—"and the principles of its law and the sacred position of the prophets and imams"—was proposed by a deputy after the Philosophical Society (a primarily theological body) had passed a resolution urging the Government to include this phrase in order to ensure that the State religion was in every way respected as it should be. The second sentence of Section A: "Insult or offence to the Royal Family . . . is not considered to be a press crime" appears at first sight to be inconsistent with the first sentence, and one newspaper erroneously published a version in which "also" was substituted for "not". The meaning is, however, made clear in the sequel, which explains that the offences in question are henceforth subject to a special emergency procedure and thus cannot be dealt with under the more leisurely procedure envisaged in the sections of the Civil Code headed "Press Crimes".

3. Section E which has been newly added is the amendment proposed by M. Faramarzi and mentioned in paragraph 2 of my despatch No. 78 of 2nd March, while Section G is Engineer Khosrow Hedayat's amendment mentioned in paragraph 3 of the same despatch.

4. Although the law is in single article form, each section was voted on separately. The first two sections were approved unanimously but when the controversial Section C, regarding attacks on ministers,

deputies and Government officials, was about to be put to the vote the Majlis lost its quorum. However, enough deputies were soon collected to enable a vote to be taken and to give the Government a majority of 61. Section E was approved unanimously and Section F provoked no comment, but when Section G (prohibiting Government officials from holding a licence for a newspaper or from publishing or editing a newspaper) came up for approval deputies pointed out the inconsistency between this and Section E which abolished the need for a licence. The section was, however, approved as it stood.

5. With the passage of the Bill, press comment on it has dwindled but some newspapers are hinting that since it was passed in such a hurry the Majlis should now consider amending it. Numerous amendments previously proposed and still awaiting discussion had been referred to committee at the beginning of the debate on 3rd March in order to enable a vote on the Government's revised draft to be taken. Now that the Majlis has voted on the Bill, it is however improbable that these amendments will re-emerge from the committee to which they have been referred.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 7

*Press Law passed by the Majlis on
3rd March, 1949*

Single Article

A. If in newspapers or any other publications the Shah and the members of the Royal family (father, mother, queen, children, brothers and sisters of the Shah) are insulted or offended or the principles of

holy Islam and the principles of its law and the sacred position of the prophets and imams are attacked in like manner or if the people are stirred up and encouraged to rise against the national Government and encouraged to sedition and disturbance the police are bound to confiscate at once such publications and arrest the perpetrator and transfer the file of the case to the procurator within 24 hours to be sent to the competent court at once by the procurator. Insult or offence to the Royal family (father, mother, queen, children, brothers and sisters of the Shah) is not considered to be a press crime. The court dealing with the case shall fix a hearing "out of turn" and shall deal with the accusation and issue a verdict. The sitting shall not be interrupted for any purpose than recreation and as long as a verdict is not issued by the court the newspaper or publication shall remain suppressed, but further internment of the accused person depends on the Court's decision.

B. The above regulations shall also be enforced in respect of insults and offences to the Heads of Foreign Governments (on reciprocity basis).

C. In the case of insults and offences to Prime Ministers, Ministers, Under Secretaries, Presidents of the Majlis, Deputies, Judges and jurors, action will be taken in accordance with the regulations set forth in Section A without their submitting a complaint and in the case of other persons and individuals when a complaint is submitted by them but from the security point of view the arrest of the accused person is not obligatory and is subject to the general regulations. The confiscation of the publications and the detention of the accused persons will be subject to the Procurator General's ruling.

D. The persons whose publications have been suppressed in accordance with this law shall not have the right to publish any papers or publications under any title before a final decision has been taken about their case. In the case of violation the culprit shall be condemned to pay a fine from 5,000 to 20,000 rials.

E. As from the date of approval of this law article 1 of the law of 3rd Dey 1321 (24th December, 1942) will be cancelled and the publication of a newspaper or a magazine shall not be subject to a licence and permission being obtained from the Supreme Council of Education. For their publication, however, the writer of the newspaper or the magazine must, in addition to observing the terms and provisions laid down in the Press Law of 5th Moharram 1326 (8th February, 1908), select for his publication a name which has not been previously chosen by others for their newspapers or publications.

F. The judges of the lower courts and of the provincial courts dealing with such offences shall be chosen as follows: The Ministry of Justice shall nominate to the Supreme Court of Appeal from among trusted judges twice the number of judges required for the lower court and the provincial court. The Heads of the Sections under the Supreme Court shall select the necessary judges by a majority of secret votes. The judges shall not be dismissed or changed for three years except by their own wish.

G. All persons drawing salaries from the Government treasury, or from a bank or public institution shall be prohibited from holding a licence for a newspaper or editing or publishing a newspaper or a publication.

that the Shah has put forward a practical plan for the removal of the political deadlock with which Persia is confronted.

2. During the past week the press has published cautious statements by such prominent persons as Taqizadeh, Hakimi and Sadiqi (Mustashar-ud-Dauleh). Hakimi has come out definitely on the side of the Shah. Mustashar-ud-Dauleh has expressed his agreement, provided that members of the 13th, 14th and 15th Majlis are precluded from membership of the Constituent Assembly. Taqizadeh's views published in *Ettela'at* have been given in greater detail and I attach a full translation⁽¹⁾ of the article in which they were described. It is said that Taqizadeh, although in favour of creating machinery by which the Constitution can be revised, is not in favour of an *ad hoc* Constituent Assembly on the lines now contemplated. I believe, however, that his suggestions with regard to the form of Assembly that is most suitable refer to the ultimate solution and not to the body which will in the immediate future be required to provide it. He may also have reasons of his own for wishing to avoid being too closely identified in the mind of the public with the present plan.

3. It was announced on 21st February that the Minister of War had been given power to declare military government wherever it seemed necessary and this has since been done in every district where there is a brigade or divisional headquarters and also in a number of smaller districts in Mazandaran and Gilan. In conversation with the Military Attaché on 28th February, the Chief of the General Staff gave as the reason for this step the fact that the Ministry of Justice, and to a lesser extent the police, had been penetrated by the Tudeh and there was some reluctance in the provinces to arrest the local Tudeh

leaders. Since the imposition of military government a number of Tudeh leaders had been arrested in the provinces, and though there had been rather more difficulties in the capital the situation in the country as a whole was well in hand. There was very little disaffection in the army. From the reports which I have received so far from both Tehran and the provinces, it appears that the military authorities are exercising considerable moderation. There have not been a large number of arrests and there have so far been no reports of molestation of the civil population. On the other hand, the trial of certain newspaper editors and Tudeh members by a military tribunal but under sections of the civil penal code is exciting some comment. Copies of petitions by these persons to the President of the Majlis have been sent to this embassy and the contention advanced that it is illegal for a military tribunal to try persons for offences against the penal code committed before martial law was instituted.

4. Some other developments have been less reassuring. One of these is the fact that the Majlis is prepared to pass a measure such as the Press Law to which moderate opinion is strongly opposed. The full text of this measure is enclosed in my despatch No. 89. Another matter upon which I am reporting separately is the sustained attempt of the Chief of General Staff to secure exclusive control over the Trades Unions through the medium of a disreputable hanger-on of the Court, Khosrow Hedayat.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed

E 3343/1015/34

No. 8

SITUATION IN PERSIA

Arrests of Tudeh Party Leaders

(1)

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 14th March)

(No. 90)
Sir,

*Tehran,
8th March, 1949.*

It is not yet possible to speak with precision about the reaction to the Shah's decision to convoke a Constituent Assembly

reported in my despatch No. 80 of 2nd March. On the whole it has been well received and the limited number of persons in this country who have any political understanding seem to appreciate the fact

(2)

Tehran Chancery to Eastern Department (Received 14th March)

Tehran,

9th March 1949.

Dear Department,
In elaboration of paragraph 3 of his Excellency's despatch No. 90 of today's date, we might mention that the number of arrests made by the military government of Tehran since 4th February amounts to 71, made up of 56 Tudeh members, 8 journalists and 7 people accused of disturbing the peace. Of the 56 Tudeh members,

14 are at present on trial, the indictment of 9 others has been drawn up, two (students) have been convicted for distributing Tudeh pamphlets and investigations are still proceeding regarding the other 30.

2. Seven of the journalists have now been tried by a military court and sentenced. In our despatch No. 76 of 2nd March, we reported on the first of these trials and on the subsequent appeals. The second trial

closed on 6th March and resulted in sentences on Bagher Hejazi (of the Seyyid Zia paper *Vazifeh*), Mahmud Valanezhad, and Farhang Riman (of *Qiam-i-Iran*) of one year, one year and five years' imprisonment respectively. These men too have lodged appeals against their sentences.

3. The seven people accused of disturbing the peace have been imprisoned under article

5 of the law regarding military government. Few details have been given regarding these persons but as far as we know they are people of no consequence.

4. We are sending a copy of this letter to the other recipients of his Excellency's despatch under reference.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

E 3022/1015/34

No. 9

CONVOCAATION OF THE PERSIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Berin (Received 17th March)

(No. 80)

Tehran,

Sir, 2nd March, 1949.

Since my audience with the Shah on 22nd February, reported in my telegram No. 179 of that date, events here have been moving fast and a decree will shortly be issued convoking the Constituent Assembly. I have the honour to enclose herein translation of an announcement made by the Prime Minister in the Majlis yesterday in which he described events leading up to this decision, the constitutional amendments which the Assembly will be required to consider and the regulations which are to govern its election. In the course of this statement Mr. Sa'ed read out the text of the decree convoking the Constituent Assembly.

2. It will be seen from the Prime Minister's statement that the agenda of the Assembly is to be confined to three, and possibly only two, items: the amendment and completion of article 48 defining the manner in which a dissolution may be effected; the preparation of a new article to establish the procedure for the amendment of the Constitution itself and, if the necessary legislation has not been passed by the Majlis when the Assembly convenes, the revision of article 44 dealing with the constitution of the Senate. The effect of these three measures will therefore be, not to change the form of the Constitution as originally conceived but to complete it in certain essential respects. When the Constitution and the supplementary laws were drawn up in 1906 and 1907, their sponsors were quite naturally pre-occupied with the need to preserve it from destruction in its infancy at the hands of an unprincipled and despotic monarch. They were therefore at pains to deny him any opening for that purpose either by amendment, which

might have been used to transform the Constitution completely, or by a dissolution which, if abused, would have reduced the Majlis to futility or eliminated it entirely. The procedure specified for dissolution required the intervention of the Senate, and consequently that body has been allowed to remain in abeyance to this day. The quorum rule in the Majlis was yet another device to prevent the frustration of that Chamber by the enforced absence from Tehran of deputies whose views might be unacceptable to the Sovereign. These rules are embodied in article 7 of the Constitution, but I have been told that they may be revised by the Majlis without reference to a Constituent Assembly.

3. During the forty-two years which have elapsed since the Constitution was adopted and, in particular, since the abdication of the late Reza Shah, the Majlis, which was once a symbol of progress and a bulwark against tyranny, became a barrier to development and even to action of any kind. The present Majlis has provided a conspicuous example of this negative function. Its election was long delayed owing to the Allied occupation and its aftermath, and its first act, when constituted, was to pass the Single Article resolution rejecting the Soviet Oil Agreement in October 1947. From that time until the attempt on the Shah's life less than a month ago, it achieved nothing of a constructive nature. There was no question even of passing a normal budget, and the financing of State expenditure was by monthly appropriations, which often provided only for the payment of official salaries. The Civil Service is disproportionately large and includes many officials who are employed only in furthering the interests of individual deputies or groups of deputies. Owing to the absence

of any legitimate means of checking these abuses or of compelling the Majlis to take positive action it has ceased to exercise the normal function of a legislature. Moreover, by virtue of obsolete and imperfect electoral machinery, deputies may aspire to renew their mandate almost indefinitely.

4. In view of the urgent need for the passage and execution of constructive legislation, the lack of equilibrium in the Constitution which has so far prevented this is a source of grave danger to the present order of society in the country. It is often said that the Shah is mainly responsible for the deadlock in the Majlis, and from time to time His Majesty has intervened or allowed members of his household to intervene unwisely in the activities of the Majlis, but it is frivolous to suggest that this is the root of the trouble. Unless the Majlis were composed of devoted patriots—and this is by no means the case—they would almost inevitably find themselves aligned against the Government of the day if it were determined to govern. This state of affairs is, of course, entirely acceptable to the Communists and fellow-travellers whose main preoccupation it must be to ensure that no good is done for the people unless they do it themselves. These enemies of the established order have not been slow to employ any and every expedient, in particular repeated and interminable interpellations, abuse of the quorum and the aggravation of personal feuds and differences, to exploit the situation. The deadlock in the Majlis has in any case implanted in many sober-minded people who play an important part in the formation of public opinion in this country a dangerous sense of resentment and despair. Such are the results of untrammelled power without responsibility.

5. If in these circumstances, no legal action were taken to bring about a change, I personally have not the slightest doubt that within a matter of months such a change would be precipitated by violence. The disparity between rich and poor, the increasing difficulty of making an honest living and the impunity enjoyed by the corrupt and the dishonest, combined with the growing conviction that it is beyond the power of any Government to provide a remedy, has produced a sense of frustration which is highly explosive. Even the prospect of the Seven-Year Plan made little difference so long as it was generally felt that there would be no effective means of preventing it from degenerating into a

nation-wide "racket" which would only redound to the advantage of the unscrupulous few. But if these very natural qualms can be dispelled by restoring the legislature to its proper function, it is just possible that hope may revive and with it the determination to set to work to improve the deplorable social conditions which have been accepted for centuries as the normal lot of the average man and woman in this country.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure 1 in No. 9

(Translation)

Statement by the Prime Minister, M. Mohammed Sa'ed, in the Majlis on the morning of 1st March, 1949.

"Gentlemen: As you all know, the Constitution and the supplementary fundamental laws passed in 1324 and 1325 A.H. (1907 and 1908 A.D.) have been in force on an experimental basis for forty years. Successive Governments in Iran have always had in view the necessity for revision and completion of our Constitution. As you gentlemen are aware, this matter has received His Imperial Majesty's special attention and emphatic orders in this sense have been issued by the Shah.

My Government has brought to the notice of the Shah the result of the conversations on this question in a letter which I shall now read for the information of the deputies:—

"To His Imperial Majesty the Shah.

During the audience granted to the Speaker of the Majlis, to me, to the Cabinet and a number of prominent and trusted persons of the country, Your Majesty announced his decision regarding the convocation of a Constituent Assembly entrusted with the task of completing the Constitution and its supplementary laws.

The Government and the persons present recognised that this decision conformed to the interests of the country. At the audience of 5 Esfand 1327 (24th February, 1949) Your Majesty's decision was communicated to the Speaker of the Majlis, to me, to a number of prominent and trusted persons of the country and to representatives of the Majlis fractions. The six Majlis fractions—'National Unity',

C*

'Freedom', 'Iran Democrat', 'Concord', 'National' and 'Progress' as well as the Independents declared themselves to be in agreement with this question.

Accordingly, I ask Your Majesty to convoke a Constituent Assembly, the task of which will be to:—

- (1) Revise and complete article 48 of the Constitution;
- (2) Draft and approve a new article concerning the procedure to be adopted for the revision of the Constitution and its supplementary laws;
- (3) Revise article 44 of the Constitution in the event of the Senate not having been ratified by the Majlis by the time the Constituent Assembly meets.

The ordinance regarding the election of the Constituent Assembly is submitted herewith to Your Majesty.

His Imperial Majesty, having taken note of this letter, instructed the Government in a royal letter to convoke the National Assembly.

This is the Imperial Firman:

To His Excellency M. Mohammed Sa'ed, President of the Council.

We have taken note of your letter dated 9 Esfand, 1327 (28th February, 1949) regarding the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, together with the relevant regulations.

We now hereby order that the Government should proceed with the convocation of the proposed Constituent Assembly

The Marble Palace,
9 Esfand, 1327
(28th February, 1949).

The Minister of the Interior has received the necessary instructions for preparing the convoking of the Assembly, in execution of the Imperial Firman and in accordance with the regulations.

The Prime Minister then read to the deputies the text of the regulations regarding the convoking of the Constituent Assembly (See Enclosure No. 2).

Enclosure 2 in No. 9

Regulations Governing the Election of the Constituent Assembly

Art. 1.—The Constituent Assembly, the task of which is to revise and complete article 48 of the Constitution, to draft and approve a new article concerning the pro-

cedure be adopted for the revision of the Constitution and its supplementary laws, to revise article 44 of the Constitution in the event of the Bill regarding the Constitution of the Senate not having been ratified by the Majlis by the time the Constituent Assembly meets, will be composed of representatives elected by the electoral districts mentioned in the table annexed to the law on parliamentary elections of 28 Shaval 1329 (22nd October 1911) amended by the law of 10 Mehr 1313 (2nd October 1934)

Art. 2.—Each electoral district will send to the Constituent Assembly a number of deputies twice that provided by the electoral law for the Majlis.

Art. 3.—Articles 9, 10 and 11 of the law on parliamentary elections must be observed as far as electors are concerned and articles 12 and 13 of the same law as concerns persons eligible for the Constituent Assembly.

Art. 4.—On receipt of instructions from the Minister of the Interior the Farmandar (Governor) or Bakhshdar (Mayor) of each electoral district shall set up a supervising committee for the elections to the Constituent Assembly in accordance with article 14 of the electoral law.

Art. 5.—The supervising committees acting in accordance with article 15 of the electoral law, shall immediately elect a council and shall publish without delay a notice giving the time and duration of voting as well as the number of the members of the Constituent Assembly to be elected in the district and the conditions to which eligible electors must conform.

Art. 6.—Between the publication of this notice and the time fixed for voting there must not elapse more than one to five days depending on the importance of the district.

Art. 7.—The supervising committees must conform to articles 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38 and 39 of the electoral law as far as concerns the members of the Constituent Assembly, the taking of the vote and the opening of the ballot boxes.

[There is no mention of an *Art. 8*]

Art. 9.—As soon as the election in each district is finished, the supervising committee and the Farmandar or Bakhshdar shall give a mandate to each of those elected to the Constituent Assembly.

Art. 10.—When two-thirds of the members of the Constituent Assembly are gathered in the capital it will be officially opened by His Imperial Majesty the Shah.

Art. 11.—On the day of its opening the Constituent Assembly will meet under the presidency of the oldest member and will proceed to the election of a president, two vice-presidents and four secretaries.

Art. 12.—The sessions of the Constituent Assembly shall be public.

Art. 13.—The Constituent Assembly shall be dissolved once the necessary decisions have been taken.

Art. 14.—Farmandars and Bakhshdars are to bring these regulations to the public notice as soon as they receive them and to put them into execution when they receive the necessary instructions.

E 3709/1112/34

No. 10

OPERATIONS OF FOREIGN BANKS IN PERSIA

Decree Issued by the Council of Ministers

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bavin. (Received 21st March)

(No. 101E.)
Sir,

Tehran,
16th March, 1949.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of the banking decree which formed the subject of my telegram No. 232 of 15th March.

2. Six days elapsed after the Council of Ministers passed the decree before the chief manager of the Imperial Bank of Iran was able to obtain a copy even unofficially from the Ministry of Finance. This copy does not carry a registered decree number, but it is customary in this country for a week or more to elapse before decrees are registered and promulgated and, as far as I am aware, the decree in question is not being held up.

3. The decree meets the Imperial Bank's final offer in all major respects and, contrary to expectations, adopts the formula suggested by Sir Kinshan Cornwallis regarding the maintenance of branches. The only point which it does not cover is the sliding scale under which the bank would have been able to retain a proportion of their total deposits in excess of about 1,700 million rials. The decree provides instead for a strict limitation of deposits to a maximum of two and a half times the capital and reserves in Persia. The Imperial Bank are not greatly concerned about this condition as they consider it unlikely that their deposits would rise to the level indicated.

4. On the assumption that the Imperial Bank will transfer £1 million and the Persian Government accept a valuation of the bank's properties in Persia for a similar amount, they will be able to retain a maximum of 585 million rials of their public deposits, plus 128 million rials represent-

ing the proceeds of the sale of £1 million to the Bank Melli. The Imperial Bank will therefore have available for their own use 713 million rials as against about 930 million at present. 370 million of this last figure represent cash which has been built up recently in view of the probable transfer of further deposits to the Bank Melli. The Imperial Bank's total deposits amount to almost 1,300 million rials, 55 per cent. of which, or about 580 million will be transferred to the Bank Melli under the new regulations, compared with 350 million now held with them or in Treasury Bonds. The Imperial Bank will thus have a net loss of usable funds of approximately 230 million rials.

5. It will take some time to determine how the new conditions of operation will work in practice. As a result of credit restriction over the past nine months, the advances of the Imperial Bank have been reduced from 650 to 570 million rials and their deposits have fallen from some 1,600 million to 1,300 million rials. The chief manager's first impression is that it may be necessary to reduce advances by a further 10 per cent., but in view of the increase in the Imperial Bank's deposits with the Bank Melli it should prove possible for them to operate on a much lower cash margin. Hitherto, their cash holding has been about 25 per cent. on the average and it may be possible to reduce it to 15 or even 12 per cent., thus making a greater proportion of their dispensable funds available for advances. Even if some contraction of advances proves inevitable the bank, by concentrating more on exchange operations, hope to offset some of their loss of

income from curtailment of other banking business.

6. Although the outcome of the negotiations so far seems satisfactory—and certainly much less damaging to the bank's interests than was feared at one time—two questions remain to be settled: the approval by the Government of the maintenance of existing branches and the confirmation of the authorisation to deal in foreign exchange. The chief manager hopes to clear up both points by an exchange of letters with the Minister of Finance, when the latter sends him an official copy of the new banking decree. He is now pursuing the matter with the Minister of Finance.

7. The decree contains one clause which does not interest the Imperial Bank, but which appears to be directed at the Russian bank. In article 1, it is stated that foreign banks who have obtained their rial capital from the sale of authorised imports, without receiving foreign exchange, will not be given a guarantee regarding the conversion of such capital into foreign currency. It is believed that the Russian bank was established with funds obtained from the sale of imports from Russia.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, to the Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade, to the Exports Credit Guarantee Department and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 10

(Translation)

Pending approval of a Bankers' Law by the Majlis, all foreign banks which are now doing business transactions in Persia, or which may start business transactions in the future, must observe the following regulations:—

1. As from the date of enforcement of the present decree, foreign banks must transfer their capital and reserves in Persia to the Bank Melli Iran in a foreign currency approved by the said bank against receipt of the equivalent thereof in rials at the official selling rate.

The Bank Melli Iran will hand the foreign bank an undertaking to the effect that in the event of the foreign bank

claiming a refund of part of its capital and reserves for reduction of its capital and reserves or of the whole of its capital and reserves at the time of winding up, the Bank Melli Iran will refund same against payment of its rial equivalent at the same rate as previously converted, provided the said bank informs the Bank Melli Iran of its intention in writing at least six months in advance.

In the case of foreign banks who have derived their rial capital and reserves from the source of authorised imports (without receiving foreign exchange) the undertaking mentioned in this article will not be issued and such capital and reserves will not be convertible to foreign exchange.

2. Foreign banks must hold with the Bank Melli Iran, free of interest, at least 55 per cent. of the total of their time and demand deposits in Persia, whether such deposits are in current accounts, fixed deposits, temporary deposits, deposits held in sundry creditors account, &c. The maximum amount of deposits which foreign banks are allowed to retain themselves shall not exceed the scale given below:—

A.—Where capital and reserves do not exceed 260 million, 225 per cent. of the capital and reserves.

B.—When they exceed 260 million rials, 225 per cent. in respect of 260 million and 100 per cent. for the amount in excess.

NOTE.—Foreign banks shall be exempt from depositing 15 per cent. of their demand deposits and 6 per cent. of their time deposits required by article 1 of the Decree No. 32834 of 5th Azar 1325.

3. Foreign banks now working in Persia shall also observe the following regulations pending approval of a Bankers' Law by the Majlis:—

A.—They may have branches outside Teheran only by special permission of the Council of Ministers.

B.—Immovable property which they own in Persia at the time of issue of this decree, solely for their requirements, will be considered as part of their capital and reserves, but only to the extent agreed by the Government after valuation and in no circumstances whatsoever exceeding 100 per cent. of the total of the amount of their capital and reserves.

The Bank Melli Iran undertaking mentioned in article 1 will not in any way whatsoever cover such immovable properties.

4. This decree will come into force as from 1st Farvardin 1328 (21st March, 1949).

E 3839 1531/34

No. 11

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR

British Oil Concessions in Persia

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 69. Confidential) *Foreign Office, 22nd March, 1949.*

The Persian Ambassador called on me this afternoon. After wishing me success in my mission to the United States he said that he would not have asked for an interview on the eve of my departure if it had not been for the urgent nature of the communication which his Prime Minister had instructed him to make.

2. As I was aware the discussions between the Persian Delegation and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, represented by Mr. Gass, which had been in progress for about five weeks, had now been suspended. The A.I.O.C. had at the outset recognised that the terms of their present concession did not provide the Persian Government with a fair share of the company's profits. Conditions had changed since the concession was negotiated and the Persian Government now considered that they were entitled to a half-share of the gross profits made by the A.I.O.C. in Persia. They had therefore presented the company with a formula designed to secure this end. Mr. Gass had been unable to accept the Persian suggestion and had in his turn made certain counter-proposals. These were unacceptable to the Persian Government as they would in effect only give the Persian Government an increase of 2s. 2d. per ton in tonnage royalty. The gap between the company's offer and the Persian Government's demand was so large that the Prime Minister could see no hope of an agreement being reached unless His Majesty's Government were prepared to use their good offices to advise the company to come to an agreement.

3. The Persian Government did not wish to cancel the A.I.O.C.'s concession or to nationalise the company. They could not, however, acquiesce in the present

position by which, out of a profit of £40 million, they received £7 million only, whilst His Majesty's Government in taxation alone took £15 million. The Government were bound to make a report to the Majlis in due course on the conduct of the present negotiations and the Prime Minister feared that if the company refused to recognise Persia's reasonable demands the Majlis might take a rash decision. Mr. Rais went on to say that the Prime Minister had therefore decided to appeal to me not only as Secretary of State but as a friend of Persia to help in cementing the existing good relations between our two countries by enabling the Persian Government to enter into a fair partnership with the A.I.O.C.

4. The Persian Ambassador said that the Persian Government had much appreciated my reference in the House to Persia's Seven-Year Plan. The Persian Government fully appreciated that poverty and misery were fertile breeding grounds for communism, and it was essential to raise the standard of living of the Persian masses if Persia was to resist successfully pressure from the Soviet Union. The funds for Persia's proposed programme for economic development could, however, only come from Persia's share of her oil royalties.

5. I told the Persian Ambassador that it would unfortunately not be possible for me to give him a reply for his Prime Minister before I left for the United States. The details of the negotiations were naturally a matter for decision by the A.I.O.C. and the Persian Government, but I would ask the Treasury to examine the question of the effect of United Kingdom fiscal policy on the royalty payments of the company while I was away. It did, however, seem to me that the Persian Government would

be wise to obtain the advice of an independent oil expert or experts to assist them in their negotiations as I felt sure that such advice was essential if agreement was to be reached on such a highly technical matter. I added that according to my information the A.I.O.C.'s offer represented a 60 per cent. to 100 per cent. increase on their payments under the present concession. Finally, I suggested that the Ambassador might like to propose to his Government that the negotiations should remain sus-

pending for three weeks or so until I had returned from the United States and had had an opportunity to consider more carefully his Prime Minister's message.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow, Cairo, Bagdad, Jedda, Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Political Resident in the Persian Gulf and the B.M.E.O.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

E 4968/1032/91

No. 12

PERSIAN CLAIMS TO PERSIAN GULF ISLANDS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 21st April)

(No. 321) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *19th April, 1949.*

Your telegram No. 178 and my despatch No. 133 of 13th April.

I received a further note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs regarding the Islands of Tamb and Abu Musa arising from the conversation reported in my despatch No. 96.

2. Note states that the islands have, from ancient times, belonged to Persia and been part of the district of the Government of Lengeh, that His Majesty's Government have in the past "by political means" prevented the exercise of Persian jurisdiction and that the former presentation of Persian claims has been met on our side by a promise that the matter would be brought to the notice of the Government of India.

3. The note goes on to dispute my statement that fifteen years ago the position had been accepted by the Persian Government (your telegram No. 178) and states that on the contrary the Persian Government have always stated that under no circumstances would they relinquish their rights.

4. In conclusion the Minister takes up my point that this question should not create a dispute between us in view of the present international tension and says that he feels sure that His Majesty's Government will not prevent Persian authorities from exercising their jurisdiction over these islands and will not countenance illegal action by Sheikh Shartah who flew his flag on them in the past (e.g., in 1905).

5. Translation of the note follows by bag.

E 5169/10338/34

No. 13

SOVIET-PERSIAN RELATIONS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 25th April)

(No. 137) *Tehran,*
Sir, *20th April, 1949.*

The departure for Moscow of the Soviet Ambassador on 15th April, reported in my telegram No. 319, affords a convenient occasion to summarise developments in Soviet-Persian relations since M. Sadchikov's return to Tehran at the beginning of November last and thus to bring up to date, in this particular field, the review contained in my despatch No. 10 of 12th January last.

2. After his last departure, following the failure of his attempts in May and June 1948 to lure the Persian Government into a political discussion about the terms of a "settlement" with the Soviet Union (which would in all probability have included the termination of the contracts of the American Military and Gendarmerie Missions which had been so constantly and violently attacked in Moscow propaganda throughout last year), M. Sadchikov returned to Persia on

1st November last with new instructions; he proceeded during the following months to leave this question of a political settlement aside while arranging for the resumption of conversations—which proved fruitless—about the conclusion of a bi-lateral agreement for current trade. The reason for the failure of these tentative discussions seems to have been that the Russians continued to make unacceptable demands as regards prices, while refusing to consider the Persian claims for the return of their gold and the payment of railway and customs charges outstanding since the war, and in general made it clear that they did not wish for any far-reaching agreement unless it also covered their political requirements.

3. At the same time, evidence continued to accumulate of subversive preparations in Tehran and elsewhere in Persia, and especially the arrival of numbers of Caucasian émigrés, preparation for the coup which was to have coincided with the attempt on the Shah's life on 4th February. Although absolute proof of this intention is not available to me, I have little doubt that this outrage formed an integral part of Communist policy and that, in the months preceding it, Soviet hopes were concentrated upon the satisfactory execution of the coup.

4. The last few weeks have witnessed a reversion to the tactics adopted a year ago which may be interpreted either as the normal development of Soviet policy towards this country or as a reaction to the successful launching of European Recovery Programme in March-April 1948 and to the North Atlantic Pact a year later. On 18th March, 1949, there occurred the first of the three frontier incidents which indicated the resumption of a means of pressure on Persia which had been in abeyance since October 1948. At the same time, the Soviet Ambassador repeated to the Persian Government his statement that if Persia wished to live on friendly terms with the Soviet Union, she must arrange for the withdrawal of the Persian case from the agenda of the Security Council. The present Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has shown greater readiness than his predecessor to listen to the Russians, was anxious to take advantage of this approach in order to put Soviet-Persian relations on a better footing. He was, however, strongly opposed by the Minister of War and also—though less actively—by the Prime Minister himself, who favoured a

firm attitude towards Russia and the adoption of the Ala-Eentezam proposal of referring to the Security Council the exchange of diplomatic notes between the Soviet and Persian Governments which occurred last year. In support of this view the newspapers, aided by the somewhat sensational methods of American press agencies, proceeded to work up the frontier incidents into something approaching a scare, and talk was current in Tehran of deep Russian penetrations into Persian territory. These tactics proved a boomerang, for the tension mounted considerably and stimulated a reaction on the part of the Prime Minister and the Government. The net result has been that the Minister for Foreign Affairs is now more anxious than ever to avoid giving offence to the Soviet Government and has so far shied away from the proposal for a renewed communication to the Security Council that he is even hesitating about the alternative course of addressing a note to the Soviet Government clarifying the position of Persia under the 1921 Treaty and disproving once again the assertions of Russian propaganda about American activities in Persia.

5. The situation at this moment is therefore that, largely owing to the extravagance of those in favour of an uncompromising attitude to Russia, the Soviet Government may have derived the impression that they will now be able to bring the Persians to heel. Any such impression would have been encouraged by the recent appearance here of newspaper articles which are almost certainly inspired and advocate a policy of "neutrality" and "independence," a theme of which very little has been heard lately. The Russians may be expected to exploit such opportunities and it is perhaps significant that, during the last few days, attacks in Persian from the Moscow wireless have altogether ceased. Confronted by the failure of their plans in October 1947 and again last February, it is conceivable that they might at an appropriate moment resume the process of stirring up internal sedition and might even reoccupy the northern provinces if they felt that they could do so without risking a major war. But, in spite of disquieting rumours which have as usual accompanied M. Sadchikov's departure, the Soviet Government are, I think, unlikely to take overt action at present. They are more likely to continue their attempts

to lure Persia into diplomatic negotiation, suggestions for which M. Sadchikov may well be making in Moscow, and to accompany these attempts by a renewed war of nerves and a further attempt to undermine the precarious equilibrium of the present social and political order in Persia.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 5465/1531/34

No. 14

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR

Negotiations between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Persian Government

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 98. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *28th April, 1949.*

As I have briefly informed your Excellency in my telegram No. 340 of to-day's date, I saw the Persian Ambassador this afternoon. I reminded him that at our meeting on 22nd March I had promised to consider his Prime Minister's message about the deadlock in the Persian Government's negotiations with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company when I returned from the United States. I had now done so, and it had been arranged that Sir William Fraser, the chairman of the A.I.O.C., should go out to Tehran to head the company's delegation in what I hoped would prove to be the final stages of the negotiations.

2. I said that I wished to emphasise the fact that His Majesty's Government could not enter into the negotiations, which were a matter for the Persian Government and the company; but I believed that Sir William Fraser would do all he could to bring about a reasonable settlement. While I did not wish to express any opinion on the merits of the Persian case, I was bound to say that my examination of their demands had convinced me that the figures put forward by the Persian Government did not take into consideration all the facts. In particular, I felt that the Persian Government were paying too much attention to the short-term view of the company's offer. We had been living in a period of abnormal oil prices, but with increased production in both hemispheres and the development of the oil resources of

the Dominion of Canada there was bound to be a fall in world oil prices. What was required was a fair settlement over a long-term period and I was sure if the Persian Government were prepared to meet Sir William Fraser in the same spirit as he was going out to Tehran they would obtain a satisfactory settlement.

3. I told M. Rais that I myself had some experience of similar negotiations. I had always found that it paid to be frank. I knew that a final settlement was often delayed because one of the parties hoped that outside influence could be brought to bear on the other party to increase a previous offer. To avoid misunderstanding I therefore wished to make it clear that, whatever the consequences might be, His Majesty's Government could not bring pressure on the company to increase Sir William Fraser's offer, which, I was convinced, would represent the best either the company or His Majesty's Government could do to assist the Persian Government.

4. M. Rais thanked me for the personal attention I had given to his Prime Minister's message and said that he would inform him of our conversation. He was sure it was in the interests of the company to come to a fair arrangement with his Government and he hoped Sir William Fraser's visit to Persia would be successful; a just settlement of the protracted negotiations would greatly help to cement the good relations already existing between our two countries.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow, Cairo, Bagdad, Jedda, Beirut, Damascus and Amman, to

the Political Resident at Bahrein and B.M.E.O., Cairo.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

E 5248/1531/34

No. 15

ANGLO-PERSIAN OIL NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 334) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *27th April, 1949.*

My telegram No. 306 (of 14th April: Anglo-Iranian Oil Company).

Sir W. Fraser is about to leave by air for what he hopes may be the final phase of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company negotiations. He is due in Tehran about 29th April. Mr. Gass has suggested that he should be prepared to stay for about ten days. He is willing to do so but not to remain much longer.

2. For your own information Sir W. Fraser proposes to do his utmost to reach an agreement on the Company's present offer. Exhaustive discussions between all concerned in London have shown that, contrary to previous belief, royalties paid to the Persian Government are not directly taxed by His Majesty's Government.

3. In fact the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company pays to the Persian Government a royalty in sterling equivalent to 4s. 0d. gold per ton plus certain Persian taxes, plus a sum equal to twenty per cent. of the amount distributed to ordinary shareholders. All these payments are expenses of the Company's operations, and are charged before the amount of profit liable to United Kingdom tax is established. Until recently however we had thought that the amount distributed to ordinary shareholders might mean the actual cash that they received, after deduction of income tax at source. The Treasury have now learnt from the Company's accountants that this is not so, but that the Persian Government receive an amount equal to twenty per cent. of the gross dividend declared, *i.e.*, before deduction of income tax.

4. Under the present terms of the concession, therefore, the Persian Government have no reasonable ground for saying that they bear United Kingdom taxation; their more serious complaint is that they suffer from the policy of limitation of dividends. Owing to this policy, they complain, large sums which might be distributed to the

shareholders with corresponding benefit to the Persians are retained by the Company as undistributed profits, on which the full rate of income tax is levied.

5. To meet this complaint the Company have already offered to go beyond the limitation of dividends by paying in addition to 20 per cent. of the ordinary dividend, a sum equal to 20 per cent. of the amount placed to general reserve. This would likewise be tax free. This offer is substantial, but since undistributed profits are subject to income tax and profits tax, and since the amount placed to reserve must come out of what is left after tax is paid, the Persians could argue that under the Company's offer if accepted they would suffer indirectly from United Kingdom taxation.

6. All concerned in London are in agreement that the Company's present offer is a fair one in comparison with oil concessions elsewhere and would in fact in normal years give the Persian Government the equivalent of 50 per cent. or over 50 per cent. of the profits made by the Company in Persia (excluding profits of operations unconnected with Persia).

7. It must, of course, be borne in mind on the one hand, that the Company made large profits in 1947 (about 30 million sterling) and that the profits for 1948 which have not yet been disclosed may be in the neighbourhood of 60 million sterling or over. His Majesty's Government received such large payments from the Company in 1947 and 1948 because during these two years high taxation in the United Kingdom coincided with high world prices for oil. On the other hand world oil prices are falling and future years are likely to show a very different picture.

8. We appreciate, however, that even though the Company's present offer, which would probably give the Persian Government about 20 million sterling in 1948 in contrast with 7 million sterling in 1947, appears to us to be a fair one, it may not

only prove extremely difficult for Sir W. Fraser to induce the Persian Government to agree that it is fair, and that even if they can be brought to do so they may expect that the Head of the Company will be coming to Tehran with some additional offer up his sleeve, however small.

9. Sir W. Fraser has accordingly been informed that His Majesty's Government are prepared to agree that if absolutely necessary the agreement should be so worded that the Company's present offer of a payment to the Persian Government of twenty per cent. of the sum placed to General Reserve each year should be increased to twenty per cent. of the sum available for General Reserve before taxation. This would have the effect of doubling the payment, and on the calculations already used the effect would be to give the Persian Government another two million pounds annually. His Majesty's Government would lose their tax of nine-twentieths of this amount but the remaining eleven-twentieths would come out of the company's resources. As has already been stated the Company are most reluctant to increase their payment, and they think this proposal is undesirable and are at present only disposed to make it if agreement could be clinched on this basis but not without it.

10. I shall be seeing the Persian Ambassador within the next day or two, and propose to speak to him on the following lines:

(a) It is most desirable at the present moment of tension between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world that outstanding differences between other friendly countries should be rapidly and amicably settled.

(b) In response to the desire expressed in Tehran Sir W. Fraser is flying to Tehran to take part in what it is hoped will be the final phase of the negotiations between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Iranian Government.

(c) The negotiations have been so far and should continue to be conducted direct with the Company and not with His Majesty's Government. There can be no question of negotiation with His Majesty's Government over the head of the Company. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that Sir W. Fraser fully grasps all the factors in the problem and has throughout been animated by a desire to reach an agreement which is fair to both sides. His Majesty's Government confidently hope that the Persian Government will meet him in the same spirit.

11. It is important that the Persian Government should not be under any illusion that they can appeal to His Majesty's Government over the head of Sir W. Fraser. I leave it to your discretion to make this clear in whatever way you may consider desirable. At the same time you should, of course, assist Sir W. Fraser in whatever manner you consider best. We realise that if agreement is to be reached it may be necessary at some stage for you to intervene either with the Government or with the Shah or with both.

12. You should keep us fully informed and refer for further instructions as you may think necessary, but I leave you wide discretion.

E 5370/1015/34

No. 16

CONVERSATION WITH THE SHAH

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 29th April)

(No. 346) Tehran,
(Telegraphic) 29th April, 1949.

The Shah received me today and discussed a number of matters of immediate interest.

2. His Majesty said that there was no question of the Constituent Assembly departing from its terms of reference (see my despatch No. 146). Senate Bill would shortly be passed by the Majlis, and this left

only two items on the Assembly's agenda. The electoral law was considered premature in some quarters and general elections could not be delayed for its passage without infringing the fundamental law. The election would therefore be held on the basis of the existing law and preparations for it would start at once. The Shah said that he was determined that it should be as free as was humanly possible. I said that if it were

it would be in marked contrast to everything I had heard of the recent elections. He agreed and said that he was determined that there should not be a repetition of this performance.

3. The Shah then said that the Soviet Government had recently made an offer to conclude an economic agreement with Persia which had every appearance of being serious. While realising that this might be a bait to draw Persia into more extensive discussions, he did not wish the offer to be rejected out of hand. But he is disposed to abstain for the present from any initiative either in regard to this matter or to Soviet request for the withdrawal of the Persian case from the Security Council. He was most anxious to know whether I had received any comment on his proposal for direct aid to Persia either in the framework of the Saadabad Pact or otherwise.

4. Adverting to the Seven-Years Plan the Shah said that in the next few days certain key appointments would be made and he indicated various alternative possibilities. I refused to volunteer an opinion in regard to candidates for the post of Director General, but advised His Majesty very strongly against the appointment of his brother Prince Abdul Reza as titular Director General (see my letter to Wright G 52/78/49 of 19th April). I said that no good could possibly come of such a divorce of power from responsibility, but I hoped that His Highness would continue to supervise the Plan as hitherto in an honorary

capacity. The Shah seemed to agree and, after some further discussion, to be in favour of appointing M. Taghi Nasr as Director General. He several times expressed conviction that the Plan could not be launched without foreign aid of some kind, and said quite openly that Eftehaj had been sadly mistaken in thinking otherwise. But he recognised that without Eftehaj's full co-operation the Plan could not be a success, and he hoped to be able to reconcile him to the appointment of M. Taghi Nasr.

5. The Shah said that he looked forward to seeing Sir William Fraser and to reaching a satisfactory agreement with the Company during his visit. I said that I shared His Majesty's hopes but I warned him that during the past fortnight the Persian Government have confronted Mr. Gass with a number of demands which if conceded would change the character of the Concession and would deprive the Company of effective control of future operations. Such tactics were deplorable, and I only hope that with the Chairman's arrival discussions would take a more realistic turn. The Shah expressed agreement and said that he intended the Government to concentrate on essentials and in particular on securing an adequate increase in Royalty payments.

Foreign Office please pass to Washington as my telegram No. 66 and Saving to Moscow and British Middle East Office, (Cairo) as my telegrams Nos. 11 and 25 respectively.

E 5464/1531/34

No. 17

ANGLO-PERSIAN OIL NEGOTIATIONS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 1st May)

(No. 350) Tehran,
(Telegraphic) 1st May, 1949.

Your telegram No. 334.

I received this instruction after my audience with the Shah on 28th April (my telegram No. 346) but I had an opportunity yesterday of speaking to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the lines directed in paragraph 11. I also warned M. Hekmat, as on the previous day I had warned the Shah, against allowing discussions to degenerate into an attempt to revise the fundamental characteristic of the concession. I said ever since the present discussions with the company were first

suggested last year it had always been clearly understood that there would be no question of such a revision. Persistence in the attempt to bring this about was bound to lead to a deadlock.

2. M. Hekmat did not contest any of this but took written note of it and said that he would inform the Government. I have little doubt that they are now under strong pressure from Imami and certain other [group undecipherable: ?members of] Persian delegation and that this will only be overcome by counter-pressure from the Shah who is determined to stick to essentials and to reach agreement as soon as possible.

AMENDMENTS TO THE PERSIAN CONSTITUTION

Approval by the Constituent Assembly

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 12th May)

(No. 180)
Sir,

*Tehran,
10th May, 1949.*

With reference to my despatch No. 171 of 3rd May, I have the honour to inform you that the Constituent Assembly adjourned to-day after approving, by two virtually unanimous votes, the two amendments for the purpose of enacting which it had been convened. I have the honour to enclose herein a translation of these two measures in the form in which they were finally adopted. The first is the text of a new article establishing the procedure whereby the Constitution is to be amended. The second is a revised version of article 48, which deals with the method of dissolution.

2. The new article provides for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly in the event of the Majlis and the Senate voting separately by a two-thirds majority in favour of such a step and of that recommendation being confirmed by the Shah. The membership of the Constituent Assembly is to be equal to that of the Majlis and the Senate combined and its election will be conducted in accordance with a law to be approved by both Chambers. Its competence will be limited by specific terms of reference. The new article also provides that the new Majlis and the Senate, as soon as they are constituted, shall undertake the revision of articles 4-8 of the Constitution which deal with the size and life of the Majlis and with the quorum rule. The new Chambers will also undertake the revision of article 49 of the Supplementary Laws as soon as they are formed. As explained in my despatch No. 375 of 23rd November last, this article as at present drafted renders it impossible for the Shah to prevent the enforcement of Majlis decisions. It may therefore be assumed that in its revised form it will give His Majesty the power to exercise the right of veto in some form.

3. Article 48, as amended, empowers the Shah to dissolve the two Chambers separately or together, subject to stating the reason for such a dissolution and simultaneously ordering new elections so that

the new Chamber or Chambers may convene within a period of three months. The new Chamber or Chambers cannot be dissolved for the same reason as their predecessors.

4. On 26th April, instructions were issued to the provincial governors to summon representatives of the Six Estates to elect the Supervisory Councils for the election of 16th Majlis and, on 4th May (as reported in my telegram No. 363), the Senate Bill was passed by the Majlis. It may therefore be assumed that the two Chambers will be elected concurrently, but it is not yet clear whether the election of the Majlis will be conducted upon the basis of the present Electoral Law or on that of the Bill under active consideration by the Majlis which, *inter alia*, would deprive the large illiterate element in the community of the franchise.

5. The debate in the Constituent Assembly which followed the submission of the Drafting Committee's report lasted barely two days and was devoid of interest. The only point which gave rise to any appreciable criticism or discussion was the redraft of article 48. Dr. Shafaq proposed an amendment to the effect that the Shah should not have the right to dissolve the Majlis except with the approval of the Senate, but that he should also have the right to dissolve the Senate. Dr. Shafaq withdrew his proposal when the reporter of the commission pointed out that it would give a disproportionate power to the Senate which was not elected by the people. Muhammad Ali Mas'udi, editor of the newspaper *Ittila'at*, proposed that the power to dissolve the Senate and the Majlis should be vested in the person of the present monarch, the right of subsequent monarchs being subject to the approval of one-third of the members of the Senate. This amendment was withdrawn when the Minister of the Interior pointed out that the present Shah did not wish to have any personal powers. Just before the vote was taken on article 48, M. Hazhir delivered a long speech in which he recapitulated the need for amending the Persian Constitution and drew comparisons from the constitutions of other countries.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure 1 in No. 18

Article to be added to the Supplementary Fundamental Laws

A.—In the event of the Majlis and the Senate voting separately by a two-thirds majority, either on their own initiative or on that of the Government, for the necessity of revising one or more of the articles of the Constitution or of the Supplementary Fundamental Laws, and of His Majesty the Shah confirming the opinion of the two Chambers, a Constituent Assembly will be convoked by Imperial decree.

B.—The Constituent Assembly will be composed of a number of members equal to the total membership of the Majlis and the Senate combined. The Constituent Assembly elections will be conducted in accordance with a law to be approved by both Chambers. The competence of this Assembly will be limited to the revision of the article or articles indicated by the two Chambers and confirmed by His Majesty the Shah. The decisions of the Constituent Assembly will be taken on a majority of two-thirds of the total number of members and will be put into execution after the agreement of His Majesty the Shah has been obtained.

C.—This article does not refer to any of the articles of the Constitution and the Supplementary Laws relating to the Holy religion of Islam or to the Ja'fariyyeh Sect of Ithni 'Ashariyyeh (the Doctrine of the Twelve Imams) which is the official religion of the State, or to the Constitutional Monarchy of Persia, both of these being for ever immutable and not susceptible of any alternative interpretation.

D.—The 16th Majlis and the Senate, which will be constituted after the ratification of the present article, will, as soon as their session begins, proceed to revise articles 4, 5 and 6 of the Constitution and also article 7 and the interpretation thereof. They will also undertake the revision of article 8 of the Constitution and article 49 of the Supplementary Laws with due regard to the past and to any legislation which may have been passed on the subjects with which they deal. For

this work of revision, the two Chambers will sit together under the presidency of the President of the Senate, the necessary amendments being approved by a majority vote of two-thirds of the total of the members of both Chambers. Amendments will then be confirmed by His Majesty the Shah, signed with the Imperial signature and become valid and effective.

Enclosure 2 in No. 18

Article 48 as Amended

(a) The Shah can dissolve the two Chambers either separately or together. In either case, the reason for the dissolution should be given in the royal decree which should at the same time contain orders for new elections.

(b) The new elections should begin within one month of the date of the issue of the decree and the Chamber or Chambers should assemble within three months of the same date.

(c) The Chamber as reconstituted after the dissolution will sit for a whole new term, not merely for the time remaining to complete the term of the dissolved Chamber.

(d) The new Chamber or Chambers cannot be dissolved for the same reason as their predecessors.

(e) In the event of the two Chambers not agreeing upon a measure or Bill referred twice by one Chamber to the other, a mixed commission composed of an equal number of members from both Chambers will examine the point at issue and present a report to both Chambers.

(f) If the Senate and the Majlis approve the mixed commission's report, the measure in question will be submitted to the Sovereign for his signature.

(g) If the two Chambers do not agree on the mixed commission's report, the point at issue will be submitted to the Shah. If the Shah agrees with the opinion expressed by the Majlis, he will give orders for the measure to be put into effect.

(h) In the contrary case, the matter will remain in suspense for six months. If necessary, at the expiration of this period it may be submitted to one of the two Chambers as a new measure or Bill.

(i) Article 48 and any other article of the Constitution of 14th Ziqadeh, 1324 (30th December, 1906) and the Supplementary Laws which conflict with the present article are hereby amended.

Notes by Translator

Note I.—Where the word *Majlis* occurs in the above, it refers to the National Legislative Assembly.

Note II.—The interpretation of article 7 referred to in 1 (D) above was that approved on 7th Jumadi Al Avval, 1329 (Lunar)—6th May, 1911. It reads as follows:—

- (1) The two-thirds of the members of the *Majlis* and the three-quarters mentioned in article 7 refer to two-thirds and three-quarters of the members present in the capital provided the number of the mem-

bers present is sufficient to make it legal for the *Majlis* to sit.

- (2) The meaning of the last sentence of article 7 to the effect that a majority vote is obtained only when more than half of those present record their votes is that rejection or approval of a measure put before the House is only achieved when more than half those present vote for the rejection or approval of that measure.

Note III.—The numbering and lettering given above does not appear in the original and is only inserted for easy reference.

E 6369/1531/34

No. 19

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR

Negotiations between the Persian Government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 113. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, 18th May, 1949.

I saw the Persian Ambassador this evening at his request. M. Rais said he had been instructed by his Prime Minister to inform me that the discussions in Tehran between the Persian delegation and Sir William Fraser, chairman of the A.I.O.C., had unfortunately not resulted in an agreement on the basis on which the company's payments to the Persian Government should be calculated in future.

2. The Persian Government considered they were entitled to 50 per cent. of the gross profits of the A.I.O.C. and their delegation had made various other proposals to the company in regard to Iranianisation, the sale price of the company's products within Persia and the Government's right to inspect the company's accounts, &c. In an endeavour to come to an agreement with the A.I.O.C. the Persian Government had waived consideration of these proposals for the time being and had agreed to accept the company's offer of an overall payment of £18,750,000 for 1948 provided the company on their part guaranteed that their future annual payments would not be less than this amount. Sir William Fraser had not been able to accept this proposal.

3. M. Rais went on to say that the Persian Government had gone as far as they could to meet the company's proposals. If Sir William Fraser still maintained, after the expiry of the two weeks' period within which it had been agreed that the Persian Government and the company should communicate to one another their final views on the proposals which had been discussed in Tehran, that the company could not increase their present offer, the Persian Government would regretfully have no alternative but to refer the matter to arbitration. The Persian Government wish to place it on record that in their view the company would alone be responsible for such a result.

4. I told the Persian Ambassador that I had taken note of his Prime Minister's message. His Majesty's Government could not, of course, take any part in these negotiations, but I regretted that the talks in Tehran should have ended without decision.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow, Cairo, Bagdad, Jedda, Beirut and Amman, to the Political Resident at Bahrein and the B.M.E.O., Cairo.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

E 6278/1015/34

No. 20

PERSIAN SENATE LAW

Approval by the Majlis

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 19th May)

(No. 188)
Sir,

Tehran,
17th May, 1949.

With reference to my telegram No. 363 of 5th May, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a translation of the new Senate Law as approved by the *Majlis* on 4th May. This law corresponds exactly with the draft tabled by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Iqbal, on 7th April when he withdrew the original draft lying unconsidered by the *Majlis*. The draft passed through commission and was debated by the *Majlis* on 3rd May when the debate was adjourned for lack of a quorum. On 4th May, however, it was accorded double urgency and passed.

2. Basically the new law conforms to the articles of the Constitution regarding the Senate: it is to be composed of sixty members, half appointed by the Shah and half elected by the people, half of each category being from Tehran and half from the provinces. The internal regulations of the Senate are, however, to be approved by the Senate itself and not by the *Majlis*, as is required by article 44 of the Constitution. It appears that the requirement of article 45 of the Constitution, that Senators should be, *inter alia*, "orthodox," is cancelled by the new Senate law. A proposal in the *Majlis* that the word "Muslim" should be added to article 9 of the new law regarding qualifications for Senators was approved but when the draft came to be voted on no mention was made of this amendment and I am informed by one of the clerks of the *Majlis* that the word "Muslim" does not, in fact, appear in the official text. There is no provision for special representation of the minority religions as in the *Majlis* and there is no religious qualification required of voters.

3. Voting for the Senate is to be in two stages. In the first stage the public will elect ten times (five times in the case of Tehran) the number of Senators to be elected from each district and the successful candidates at this stage will form a small electoral college to elect within ten days the number of Senators required. The procedure laid down for the casting

of votes in the first stage of the voting is the same as that proposed in the recently tabled Bill amending the electoral law for the *Majlis*: on arrival at the polling-station the voters will receive a specially stamped voting-paper on which they will, in the polling-booth, write the names of their favoured candidates and which they will then cast in the ballot-box under the eye of the supervising committee. This is clearly designed to introduce a literacy test which has been warmly urged by the press of late and which is understood to be sponsored by the Shah.

4. Senators will normally be elected, or appointed by the Shah, for six years, but after the first three years half of the elected and half of the appointed Senators will be retired by ballot and will be replaced by fresh elections or appointments as the case may be.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No 20

Senate Bill Approved by the Majlis on
4th May, 1949

In view of the fact that the Government considered certain amendments necessary in order to complete the Bill for Senate elections previously submitted to but not yet approved by the *Majlis*, the Government have therefore withdrawn that Bill and submitted this Bill with single urgency and ask for approval of it.

Prime Minister:

MUHAMMAD SA'ID.

Minister of the Interior:

DOCTOR IQBAL.

CHAPTER I.—General

Article 1.—The number of members of the Senate is, in accordance with article 43 of the Constitution, sixty of whom thirty are, in accordance with article 45

of the Constitution, appointed by Imperial firman and the other thirty elected by the people.

Article 2.—In accordance with article 45 of the Constitution, fifteen of the members of the Senate appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Shah must be residents of Tehran and the other fifteen of the other provinces and boroughs.

Article 3.—The allocation of the other thirty members of the Senate who are elected by the people should be as follows:—

Fifteen by the people of Tehran and fifteen by the people of the other provinces and boroughs according to the table annexed to this law.

Article 4.—The election of members of the Senate throughout the country shall be in two stages.

In the first stage of elections a relative majority and in the second round of elections an absolute majority is valid except in the case of the latter part of article 24 of this law.

In the event of a tie between two or more persons the number of persons needed for the first stage will be drawn by lot.

Article 5.—Electors are not obliged to choose members whom they elect to the Senate from residents of their own district.

CHAPTER 2.—*Conditions for electors*

Article 6.—Male nationals of Persia have the right to vote on the following conditions:—

- (i) they are at least 25 years old;
- (ii) they are resident in the electoral district or have been domiciled there for six months before the time of the elections.

Article 7.—The under-mentioned people are deprived of the right to vote, although they may fulfil the conditions laid down in article 6:—

- (i) persons under supervision or guardianship;
- (ii) persons condemned for crimes or misdemeanours, or those deprived of civil rights and not yet reinstated.

Article 8.—Men and officers of the land, sea and air forces and men and officers of the police and gendarmerie (except officers on the retired list) do not form part of the electorate.

CHAPTER 3.—*Conditions for persons elected*

Article 9.—Male nationals of Persia fulfilling the following conditions have the right to be elected:—

- (i) they are well-known or resident in their constituency;
- (ii) they are not less than 40 years old;
- (iii) they are known to be honest and upright and well-informed regarding the country's affairs.

Article 10.—People may be elected to the Senate if, in addition to the conditions set forth above, they are in one of the following categories:—

First rank of ulemas—persons who have previously been Deputies in at least three Majlisses—persons who have reached the rank of Minister of the Crown, ambassador, ustandar, president or prosecutor of a court or president of subsidiary judicial service—retired senior officers of the armed forces (brigadier, major-general, general)—university professors of at least ten years standing.

Persons with at least twenty years service who have reached the rank of minister plenipotentiary or acting head or deputy of a Government department.

Land-owners or merchants who pay at least 500,000 rials in direct taxation per annum—lawyers of the first grade on condition that they have been lawyers for fifteen years if they have their doctorate, otherwise twenty years legal or judicial experience.

Article 11.—The under-mentioned persons are debarred from being elected even though they fulfil the conditions laid down in article 10:—

- (i) Government officials in the area of their jurisdiction;
- (ii) persons condemned for crimes or misdemeanours or to loss of civil rights without having regained them;
- (iii) persons under supervision or guardianship.

The provisions of this article, with the exception of the first part of it, and similarly the provisions of articles 9 and 10 shall be observed by persons appointed by His Imperial Majesty.

CHAPTER 4.—*Conditions for Supervising Committees*

Article 12.—In the capital city of each electoral district as defined in the table annexed to this law the local governor will immediately upon receipt of the Minister of the Interior's instructions convene a commission composed of himself, the president of the highest local court and the head of the municipal council. This commission will nominate for invitation by the governor twenty-four people of the six estates (ulema, nobles, land-owners, merchants, artisans and peasants) and twelve local worthies who possess the qualifications of voters. If there is in that place no municipal council in existence the head of the previous council or one of the local notables shall be invited.

As soon as those invited assemble, they shall meet and elect from their own number or from outside by secret ballot and relative majority nine persons as members and nine as substitute members. At this election the presence of two-thirds of the invited persons is sufficient.

Note 1.—As soon as the members of the committee have been appointed the above-mentioned commission is dissolved.

Note 2.—The local governor must within five days of the date of arrival of the Minister of the Interior's instructions convene the central supervising committee and notify the Minister of the Interior of the members of it.

Note 3.—None of the members or substitute members of the central supervising committee or of the sub-committees may offer himself as a candidate in that district.

Article 13.—After establishing its presidential body the central supervising committee will at once and on the list annexed to this law, appoint sub-committees. These sub-committees will be charged with and responsible for the elections in their own district. To this end they will through the central farmandar and bakhshdars give instructions for sub-committees to be elected according to article 12 of this law. In districts where the formation of sub-committees according to article 12 of this law is difficult the central committee shall, with the agreement of the farmandar of that place, appoint nine of the local worthies of that place to form a sub-committee.

Article 14.—The contents of articles 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27 and 28 of the present law regarding Majlis elections shall be observed in elections to the Senate, but in no district may the period fixed for the issuing of electoral vouchers and the taking of votes be less than one day or more than three.

CHAPTER 5.—*Manner of Issuing Electoral Vouchers and Taking of Votes*

Article 15.—As soon as the central supervising committee has been formed and it has appointed the sub-committees, it shall issue formal notice through the intermediary of the officials of the farmandari throughout the electoral district from three to five days before the beginning of voting according to the importance of the place. The above-mentioned notice shall contain the following points:—

- (i) The place where the committee will meet and the times fixed for the issuing of electoral vouchers and the collection of votes.
- (ii) The qualifications required of electors and elected.
- (iii) The number of Deputies to be elected.
- (iv) Arrangements for receiving electoral vouchers for voting, with the explanation that voting must be secret. Therefore, as soon as the voter has entered the committee's room, after he has produced his identity card and established his identity and received a ballot-paper bearing a special mark supplied by the Ministry of the Interior in sufficient quantities and left at the disposal of the supervising committees and sub-committees and bearing the seal of the central committee, he then writes his vote in the room allocated by the committee for the writing of votes, folds it and casts it into the ballot-box in the presence of the committee and leaves the room.

CHAPTER 6.—*Counting of Votes and Determination of Persons elected*

Article 16.—The total number of persons elected in the first stage for each of the electoral districts in the annexure to this law shall be in the case of Tehran five times and in the case of other districts ten

times the number of members to be elected to the Senate from that district.

In the regulations for the execution of this law, which must be approved by the Cabinet, the Ministry of the Interior is required to divide the number of persons elected in the first stage among the subordinate districts, having regard to their population, in such a way that the total of persons elected in the first stage in one electoral district is five or ten times the number of members to be elected from that district.

Article 17.—The arrangements for the counting of votes shall be the same as those laid down in articles 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33 of the present electoral law for the National Consultative Assembly.

Article 18.—Immediately after the counting of the votes the president of the supervising committee shall establish and announce in a loud voice those persons elected in the first stage who are to be elected from that district and who have an absolute or relative majority.

The voting papers shall be kept until the dissolution of the committee and then, with the exception of papers to be attached to the *procès verbal*, destroyed in the presence of the farmandar and all the local worthies.

Article 19.—The supervising sub-committees will count the votes in the same manner as prescribed for the central committees and immediately the president of the committee will ascertain and announce in a loud voice the persons elected in the first stage, to the number of persons who are to be elected in that district and having an absolute or relative majority.

The *procès verbal* of the elections must be signed by the supervising committee and be sent to the central committee so that, having regard to the *procès verbaux* of the elections in all the places under that district, the persons elected in the first stage may be ascertained and announced.

Article 20.—If any supervising sub-committee fails to send in the *procès verbal* of its election within the period specified by the central supervising committee the latter will declare the elections in that area to be ended and will determine the result of them, but this procedure will not deprive the electors of that subordinate district of their right to protest.

Article 21.—If in an electoral district one or more subordinate districts have not carried out their elections in the time specified by the central supervising com-

mittee, they will forfeit their right to participate in the elections and the elections of the other areas in that district will be valid without them.

Article 22.—The secretary of the central supervising committee will prepare the *procès verbal* of the first stage elections in two copies which will be signed by the farmandar and the members of the supervising committee. One copy will be given to the farmandari and the other copy will be sent through it to the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 23.—As soon as the result of the first stage of the elections in the whole district is ascertained the farmandar of the place will inform the persons elected in the first stage in writing that within ten days, on the day appointed they must be present in the farmandari so that they can carry out the second stage of the elections.

Article 24.—The second stage of the elections takes place in the following manner:—

That number of persons elected in the first stage who within ten days are present in the centre of their electoral district assemble together with the local farmandar and the public prosecutor of the highest court and the president of the local municipal council and by secret vote appoint from among themselves by an absolute majority the number who are to be appointed members of the Senate from that district.

If after two ballots no-one of those elected in the first stage has an absolute majority in the third ballot, relative majority will be sufficient. In the event of a tie the voting will be decided by drawing lots.

NOTE.—In the event of several of those elected in the first stage not being present on the appointed day in spite of the invitation and announcement, if the number present is two-thirds of those elected the election shall take place and the absent member shall lose his rights because of his absence.

Article 25.—As soon as the second stage of the elections is finished the farmandar will draw up the *procès verbal* of the elections in three copies which will be signed by him, the public prosecutor and the president of the municipal council.

One copy of it shall be kept in the farmandari, the second copy shall be sent to the Ministry of the Interior and the

third copy sent to the Senate secretariat through the intermediary of the Ministry of the Interior.

The name or names of the elected shall be announced by the local farmandar immediately after the second stage of the elections.

CHAPTER 7.—*Protests about the Elections*

Article 26.—The substance of articles 40, 41, 43 and 44 of the present law for elections for the National Consultative Assembly must also be observed in respect of complaints against the election of members of the Senate.

Article 27.—Persons having complaints against the elections or against the supervising committee can send their complaints to the Senate secretariat before the opening of the Senate.

After the opening of the Senate complaints can only be sent during the first week.

CHAPTER 8.—*Miscellaneous Articles*

Article 28.—Credentials signed by the members of the supervising committee and the local farmandar must be given to persons elected to the Senate. These credentials shall be submitted to the Senate secretariat.

Article 29.—Membership of the Senate, whether for those members appointed by the Shah or for those elected by the people, shall be for six solar years (except for that number who retire after the first three years according to the drawing of lots). At the end of the first three years half of the membership is revised in this way: at the conclusion of the first three-year period half of the members of the Senate appointed by the Shah and half of those elected by the people retire according to the drawing of lots and their successors are appointed or elected in accordance with this law. After that, when the six years membership of any member has ended a new appointment shall be made or a new election held. The provisions of this article shall also be observed when the Senate is re-opened after dissolution.

Article 30.—Any member of the Senate who retires from the Senate under the foregoing article can be appointed or elected again.

Article 31.—As soon as two-thirds of all the members of the Senate are present in Tehran, the Senate shall be opened by the

Shah and its majority decisions shall be valid.

Article 32.—The six-year term begins from the day of the opening of the Senate. But in the case of the members appointed or elected under article 29 their six years' membership shall be reckoned from the day of the approval of their credentials.

Article 33.—As soon as the Senate has been opened and has elected its temporary officers it shall begin the scrutiny of the credentials of its elected members.

Article 34.—If one or more of the elected Senators die or resign earlier than a year before the end of their period of membership remaining, in that case the person with a relative majority after the resigning or deceased Senator on the list of the ten people elected to the second stage of the elections shall be elected in place of the resigning or deceased Senator for the remainder of his period of membership.

If the deceased or resigning Senator is one of those appointed by the Shah, immediately the Ministry of the Interior shall, independently or at the request of the president of the Senate, report the facts to the Shah so that in the event of more than one year remaining to the end of the deceased or resigning Senator's period of membership a successor to him may be appointed.

In such a case the period of membership of this person shall be for the remainder of the period of membership of the deceased or resigning Senator.

Article 35.—The Senate can begin its discussions with whatever number are present at the opening of the session but voting will be possible only when more than half of the members present in the capital are present. Decisions shall be taken by a majority of votes of the members voting.

Article 36.—Members of the Senate shall enjoy the immunity mentioned in article 12 of the Constitution.

Article 37.—The Shah shall open the new session of the Senate which begins every year on 14th Mîhr and which finishes at the end of Khurdad. During each session the Senate may be adjourned by the Shah once only for a period not exceeding one month.

Article 38.—The Deputies to the Senate (Senators) may on the Government's proposal and by Imperial farman accept an honorary Government post.

Article 39.—The Senate shall approve its own internal regulations and put them into effect in due course.

Serial No.	Electoral District	No. to be Elected	Centre of Electoral District
1.	Tehran	15	Tehran
2.	Qazvin, Zinjan, Qum, Savch, Mahalat, Gulpa'igan	1	Qazvin
3.	Tabriz, Ahar, Ardibil, Khalkhal, Maragheh, Mishgin	2	Tabriz
4.	Riza'iyeh, Mahabad, Khu'iy, Maku	1	Riza'iyeh
5.	Kermanshah, Sananduj, Shahabad, Ilam, Ga us, Saqqiz	1	Kermanshah
6.	Hamadan, Arak, Malayir, Nahavand	1	Hamadan
7.	Khurramabad, Burujird, Ahwaz, Shushiar, Dizful, Dasht Mishan, Khurramshahr, Abadan, Bihbahan	1	Ahwaz
8.	Shiraz, Kazirun, Firuzabad, Bushire, Fasa, Abadeh, Lar, Jahrum, Istahbanat	2	Shiraz
9.	Kerman, Bandar Abbas, Sirjan, Bam, Jiruft, Zahidan, Iranshahr, Saravan, Chahbahar	1	Kerman
10.	Resht, Bandar Pahlavi, Lahijan, Fumanat, Tavalish	1	Resht
11.	Sari, Babul, Amul, Shahi, Shabsavar, Gorgan, Simnan, Damghan, Shahrud, Damavand	1	Sari
12.	Meshed, Sabzivar, Birjand, Turbat-i-Haidari, Nishapur, Quchan, Bujnurd, Gunabad, Firdaus, Kashmah, Zabul	2	Meshed
13.	Isfahan, Shahrkurd, Shahriza, Faridan, Yazd, Ardakan, Kashan	1	Isfahan

E 7687/1015/34

No. 21

ELECTIONS FOR THE PERSIAN SENATE

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 23rd June)

(No. 297)

Tehran,

Sir, 21st June, 1949.

I have the honour to inform you that on 15th June the Shah signed an Imperial *firman* ordering the election of the Senate. This *firman* was duly transmitted by the Prime Minister to the Minister of the Interior who brought it to the notice of the public on the following day, 16th June. The election of the Senate will be conducted in accordance with the Senate Law, the passing of which by the Majlis I reported in my despatch No. 188 of 17th May, although the Majlis has not finally approved certain amendments belatedly proposed by the Government in regard to the representation of certain religious minorities and to the method of selecting Tehran senators.

2. The literacy qualification, which was accepted in the Senate Law almost without discussion, has proved a serious stumbling-block in the way of the amendment of the electoral procedure for the 16th Majlis desired by the Shah and the Government. On 18th May the Minister of the Interior presented the Bill to the Majlis and under the "single urgency" procedure it was at once referred to Committee. Here article 6, which is similar to article 15(iv) of the Senate Law, encountered determined opposition. This article as drafted provides that the elector shall secretly write the name of the candidate whom he favours on a

specially provided piece of paper handed to him at the polling-station. The opponents of this feature of the Bill proposed, and carried by seven votes to five, an amendment to the effect that electors should indentify themselves at the polling stations not by means of their ordinary identity cards but by the special electoral voucher provided for in the existing law on Majlis elections. Further they proposed that if these vouchers could not be printed in time for the 16th Majlis elections—and indeed they cannot—all the provisions relating to literacy and the secret vote should remain in abeyance until the elections for the 17th Majlis. This is, of course, a transparent device on the part of some of the present Majlis to thwart the Shah's desire for electoral reform and to secure their own re-election. It has been roundly condemned by the press as a whole.

3. The Bill together with the Committee's report, came up for discussion in the Majlis on 9th June when articles 1 and 2 relating to electoral supervisory committees and the local commissions which appoint them were approved. On 12th June the Majlis was able to pass article 3 which requires the nomination of candidates—a fundamental innovation in the electoral procedure—and the payment by them of a deposit of 12,000 rials to be forfeited if they do not obtain eight per cent. of the votes cast. (This sum

is regarded as trifling compared with the cost of buying a seat under the old procedure.) Article 4 which stipulates that the elections shall take place on the same day throughout the country and article 5 concerning the supply of specially marked voting-papers by the Ministry of the Interior followed on 14th June, but when the discussion of article 6 was broached on the same day the session immediately became stormy. At the next session on 16th June (which was interrupted by the visit of the Regent of Iraq to the Majlis) M. Taqizadeh pointed out that the object of the original article 6 was not to create a distinction between literate and illiterate but to enable voters to know something of what they were voting for. This point has been taken up by the newspapers, amongst which the semi-official *Ittila'at* is specially vociferous, emphasising that the object of article 6 is not to deprive the illiterate of the vote since such people can easily learn

to write the name of their favoured candidate but to ensure that the vote really is free and secret.

4. At the following session on 19th June Dr. Matin Daftari proposed that if electoral vouchers had not been issued by the time of the elections, voters should produce their identity cards instead. This was in effect a reversion to the original article 5 and in the voting it was rejected by fifty-three votes to forty-six. After this vote the Majlis went on to other business and it appears likely that the Government is re-organising its forces before having the controversial article brought up for discussion again.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. Le ROUGETEL.

E 7947/10393/34

No. 22

VISIT OF THE REGENT OF IRAQ TO PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 30th June)

(No. 232)

Tehran,

Sir,

28th June, 1949.

I have the honour to inform you that His Royal Highness the Amir Abdul Illah, Regent and Crown Prince of Iraq, arrived in Tehran by special aircraft on the morning of 14th June on a State visit to this country. He was met at Mibrabad Aerodrome by His Imperial Majesty the Shah, and then went to the Sahabqaraniyah Palace north of Tehran where he was accommodated with his suite during his stay in Tehran.

2. A full programme was arranged for the Regent in Tehran—so full indeed that it was the subject of complaint by some members of his suite. The Shah held an official reception for him at the Sa'dabad Palace on the evening of 15th June to which all members of the diplomatic corps and a large number of Persians were invited. The Prime Minister gave a dinner in his honour on 16th June and the Minister for Foreign Affairs a luncheon on 17th June. That evening the Regent himself held a reception for the Shah and all the guests of two nights previously. Apart from attending these social functions, the Regent

was fully engaged in visiting the Archaeological Museum, the Crown Jewels, the Majlis, the university and a munitions factory, as well as spending one day watching manoeuvres by the 1st and 2nd Army Divisions.

3. After three very busy days the Regent and his suite left for Mazandaran and the Caspian coast by train on the morning of 18th June, and spent three days there. The Regent returned by train overnight on the 20th–21st June, but instead of flying immediately to Meshed as planned decided to postpone his pilgrimage until the following day, Wednesday, 22nd June. On the evening of 21st June, a reception was given in his honour by the Mayor of Tehran. He flew to Meshed and returned in one day, spent the night of 22nd June at the Iraqi Legation in Tehran and left for Bagdad by air on Thursday morning, 23rd June. He was seen off at the aerodrome by Prince Ali Riza.

4. The date of the arrival of the Regent, which had originally been fixed for 10th June, was set back because whereas in the first official programme it was announced that the Regent would be greeted at the

aerodrome by Prince Ali Riza, the Iraqi Minister. Tahain Qadri, specially accredited for the period of the visit, insisted that he should be met by the Shah. The Iraqi view prevailed, and the Court issued a communiqué stating that in the interests of friendship the Shah had been pleased to invite the Regent officially. The reasons for this change of programme became generally known in Tehran and caused some resentment, but in the event all passed off well and the Iraqi Minister has since stated to a member of my staff that the Regent's visit was an outstanding success. His mission achieved, M. Qadri is planning to return to Bagdad immediately, and he apparently expects to accompany the Regent to London in about three months' time.

5. While the Regent was at the Caspian the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Mohammad Fazil Jamali, who had accompanied him to Tehran, remained in the capital and continued his talks with the Persian authorities. With the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Hikmat, he addressed a telegram to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan and Afghanistan expressing the hope that these two countries would settle their differences in a friendly manner and in accordance

with the principles of Islam and the United Nations Charter. On the morning of his departure (23rd June) a joint communiqué was issued in Tehran, to be published later in Bagdad, stating that friendly discussions had taken place on questions of mutual interest, and had ended in complete agreement. Decisions were taken regarding the strengthening of cultural bonds and regarding travel facilities between the two countries which were agreed on close collaboration in international matters, and to reaffirm the close relations existing between them. They had also decided to elevate the status of their diplomatic missions to that of embassies.

6. The Minister for Foreign Affairs told me on 25th June that his conversations with M. Jamali had been eminently cordial and satisfactory, particularly as regards the co-ordination of policy towards the Kurds, the suppression of Communist activities and plans for the final delimitation of the Frontier.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Bagdad and Ankara, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I am, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 5168/1082/91

No. 23

PERSIAN CLAIMS TO PERSIAN GULF ISLANDS

(1)

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 512. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *6th July, 1949.*

Your telegram No. 321 [of 17th April, 1949: Persian claims to Tamb and Abu Musa].

If you see no objection you should reply to the Persian note on the lines suggested in my immediately following telegram.

2. There is no trace here of the letter referred to in paragraph 5 of the Persian note. Can you elucidate?

E 5168/1082/91

(2)

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 513) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *6th July, 1949.*

My immediately preceding telegram.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have carefully examined the note No. 420 of the Minister for Foreign Affairs

and observe that the present note, like the Persian note of 30th April, 1935, to which it refers, advances no evidence to substantiate the Persian claim that the islands have been part of the district of the Governor of Lingah, a claim which His

Majesty's Government many years ago examined and were unable to accept.

2. As the Persian Government are aware, His Majesty's Government have never in the past admitted the Persian claim to these islands, nor recognised that Persia has any rights in respect of them. In the absence of new evidence to the contrary, His Majesty's Government therefore see no reason to depart from the view which has been made fully clear in Sir R. Clive's notes of 1930 and 1934 that the islands in question are subject to the Sheikhs of Sharjah and Ras-ul-Khaimah, and are in no way, legally or otherwise, subject to the sovereignty of the Persian Government.

3. As to the Persian note of 30th April, 1935, quoted in the present note, the head of Eastern Department at the Foreign Office explained to the Persian Minister in London at that time that His Majesty's Government did not feel able to agree that the grant, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, of a concession by the Sheikh of Sharjah constituted an infringement of the *status quo* agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Persian Government. Since that time His Majesty's Government have been confident,

in the absence of any further observations from the Persian Government, that the Persian Government accepted their contention.

4. His Majesty's Government note that the Persian Government reciprocate their desire that in the present circumstances, or indeed at any time, this question should not give rise to any dispute between the two Governments, and they hope to convince the Persian Government in friendly discussion of the validity of their contention that the islands are not subject to Persian sovereignty; but whilst they would be willing to consider any practicable step tending to facilitate a settlement of the matter, they nevertheless cannot agree that it would be justifiable in pursuit of a friendly settlement to alter the present status of the islands, or to deprive their present rulers of their long-established control. It is appropriate also to remind the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that, as the Persian Government were informed in 1905, the revival of the Persian claim to Tamb would lead His Majesty's Government, for their part, to revive their ancient claim, on behalf of the Sheikh of Sharjah, to the island of Sirri.

E 5168/1082/91

(3)

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 514. Top Secret) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *6th July, 1949.*

Your telegram No. 511 [of 23rd June: Persian Gulf islands.]

Rumours mentioned in Bahrain telegram No. 292 [of 17th June] have received some confirmation from a top secret and entirely reliable source. Do you consider it desirable to seek an assurance from the Persian Government that they do not intend to occupy these islands by force?

2. If so, the matter might either be mentioned orally or form the subject of an official note. In the latter case it might conveniently form part of the note referred to in my telegram No. 513 by the addition

of a final paragraph on the following lines:—

"In this connexion His Majesty's Government think it their duty to draw the attention of the Persian Government to rumours current on the shores of the Persian Gulf that the Persian Government is increasing the number of troops in South Persia with the intention of occupying the islands in question. His Majesty's Government cannot think that these rumours are substantial, but they would be glad to have the assurance of the Persian Government that no action of the kind suggested is, in fact, in contemplation."

PERSIAN CLAIMS TO PERSIAN GULF ISLANDS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 12th July)

(No. 550. Confidential) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *12th July, 1949.*

Your telegram No. 514: Islands in the Persian Gulf.

I spoke to the Minister for Foreign Affairs this morning (11th July) [group undecypherable: ? about] these reports. I reminded him that hitherto both our Governments have consistently refused to report their respective views with regard to sovereignty over these and various other territories in the Persian Gulf, but had by mutual consent refrained from pressing their difference to a logical conclusion. I could not believe the Persian Government would find the present moment suitable for

a reversal of this long-standing policy. I therefore hoped the Minister would authorise me to assure you that these and any other similar reports were entirely without foundation.

2. M. Hikmat expressed complete agreement with my attitude but he asked for a few days to make enquiries before giving me the assurance which I had invited.

3. In the circumstances I am deferring action on your telegram No. 512. But if you still consider it essential to reply in writing to the Persian Government's note No. 420 I should prefer to confine myself to first two paragraphs of your telegram No. 513.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN AZERBAIJAN

*January to June 1949**Acting Consul-General Dundas to Mr. Bevin. (Received 14th July)*

(No. 15)

His Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Tabriz presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit to him, with reference to Tabriz despatch No. 9 of 21st January, 1949, a copy of Tabriz despatch No. 15 of 4th July, 1949 to His Majesty's Ambassador, Tehran, regarding the political situation in Azerbaijan, 1st January-30th June, 1949.

Tabriz, 4th July, 1949.

Enclosure in No. 25

*Political Situation in Azerbaijan,
1st January to 30th June 1949*

Azerbaijan is a periodically isolated and frequently neglected province. Both the isolation and the neglect are certainly felt by the inhabitants, and both were forced home upon them with bitter emphasis in the period under review. The severe winter isolated the province from the capital, and isolated parts of the province from one another. The neglect was exemplified in the removal of a fairly popular and energetic Governor-General, and

the failure to see that he was effectively replaced (although a successor was nominated) for a period of nearly three months. The new Governor-General, Abulfath Valatar (Hishmat-ud-Dowleh) arrived on 30th June. The tragedy of Azerbaijan, once a leading province which for instance boasted the first printing press in Persia, is that it is neglected even by many of its own sons, absentee merchants and landlords who have transferred their business and residence to Tehran. Such is the fate of a frontier province whose destiny is, and for generations has been, bound up in policies being worked out in the capitals of Europe and, in the present days, even in the United States. It is the unmerited fate of a province which, while grumbling continually against the central government, showed unanimous loyalty to the Crown at the time of the attempt on the life of the Shah. Tabriz, at one time an important commercial city on a through route to Asia Minor and Europe, has, as a result of the political situation and the dropping of the iron curtain, become almost a dead end.

2. The winter of 1949 will be remembered in Azerbaijan for its extreme severity. The city of Tabriz was isolated from the metropolis. Business came to a virtual

standstill. Contracts could not be fulfilled because communications were cut. Supplies, even the most essential, could not come in. News itself was hard to come by since the supply of newspapers from Tehran was cut off, and electric power was so weak that the reception of wireless bulletins was at best problematical. However, it was through Tehran radio that the news of the attempt on the life of His Imperial Majesty the Shah reached Tabriz. There was an immediate reaction of anger at the outrage, and of loyalty to the Crown. There was general satisfaction at the suppression of the Tudeh party, but there was some disappointment at the leniency with which suspects were treated. At the thanksgiving service for the deliverance of the Shah, merchants and mullahs urged upon the Governor-General the necessity of re-expelling deportees who had been allowed to return to Azerbaijan under the Amnesty Law. Hardship and suffering were great throughout the province, and as the winter drew to its bleak end, the prospect of spring which must bring renewed incidents on the Russian frontier was hardly a cheering one.

3. Everything in Tabriz is viewed against the ruddy background of the Russian threat. Spring came and it brought the expected frontier incidents, early in March and again on 2nd April. It brought also the removal of a Governor-General who, if his nomination in October of 1948 had not been a very popular one, had nevertheless earned some popularity in the province by his efforts to get things done and to improve conditions. In the circumstances it is not surprising that in Azerbaijan M. Fahimi's recall was quite generally believed to have been in accordance with desires expressed by the Russians. Great interest centred round the closure of the Russian Consulates. The decision to close them was well received, although nobody thought that their closure alone could remove the canker of Russian propagandists and agents who would remain behind. The Russian Consuls from Ardebil and Rezaieh left with the Consul-General at Tabriz on 16th June and their departure was followed immediately by rumours which they themselves doubtless had sown to the effect that the Russians would occupy Tabriz within a few days. Tabriz radio took the trouble to counter these stories and they died a natural death very rapidly.

4. Towards the end of the period under review a certain restlessness was discernible in the province and the administrative

authorities themselves showed some nervousness by the rapidity of their reaction to circumstance. The bread situation deteriorated steadily. Prices rose and quality degenerated. There were disturbances in Maragheh, and trouble was reported in Ardebil and Ahar, although the last-mentioned report was subsequently proved to be unfounded. Still, it was significant that when a dying man was brought in from Ahar, his death was forthwith popularly attributed to assault by a hungry mob. The depressing aspect of the bread shortage (and it applies to other commodities such as sugar which is at the time of writing up to forty-five rials a kilo as compared to the official price of seventeen rials) is that the shortage is fictitious. There is plenty of flour in the province, but it has gone underground and the local authorities are quite unable to bring it out. Until the lower grades of the administration are cleaned up the authorities will remain impotent in such matters. In desperation, the Acting Governor-General has asked for a reserve stock of wheat from Tehran, to be stored in the silos here.

5. About the same time rumours of the activities of the Kurds and of Mulla Mustafa became more and more prevalent. There were reports of the entry into Persia of armed Barzanis. Iraqi forces were alleged to have had a clash with the followers of Mulla Mustafa, and rumour had it that leaflets were dropped in Iraqi Kurdistan by aircraft, calling upon Kurdish chieftains to declare themselves for or against Mulla Mustafa. None of the pamphlets was produced as evidence.

6. We have said that the province is neglected, and that its destiny is shaped in foreign capitals. Both these points are very important in a review of the political situation in Azerbaijan. If the second point is true, and it is proposed in a moment to demonstrate that it is, then it is criminally negligent of the central government to admit the continuation of circumstances which make the former point indisputably true. There can be no doubt that ever since the establishment, life and collapse of the Democrat régime in Azerbaijan the Russians have continued to blow hot and cold on the province, dragging it into the realm of world politics. The existence of their so-called independent Kurdish republic under Mulla Mustafa in the U.S.S.R. is a continual threat to the security of the

Middle East (Iraq and Turkey being involved as well as Persia) which can be inflated and deflated at will. If it were inflated to bursting point, it would be a threat to world security. The continued rumours of the Mulla's impending descent upon what might be called greater Kurdistan may be (a) true, (b) an episode in the war of nerves, or (c) merely a sounding out of the feeling in the Kurdish provinces. Even although Russia has suffered some setback to her plans in the west and His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow has interpreted the administrative reshuffle in Moscow as an indication of a redirection of Soviet attention to the east, it seems unlikely at present that Mulla Mustafa's descent is planned for the immediate future. Such ill-disguised intervention in the affairs of countries, in two of which the western powers have an enormous oil stake, would be too likely to provoke a general conflagration, and this can hardly be part of the Kremlin plan at present. Precisely because of the oil interest of the Western Powers, Kurdistan and *a fortiori* Azerbaijan which still has the remnants of the Democrat régime hanging about, form an ideal theatre for the war of nerves. It is also more than likely that feeling in Kurdistan and by extension in all Azerbaijan because it marches with Russia, is being continually sounded out. We therefore consider that the continued rumours of Mulla Mustafa's activities, while certainly an element in the war of nerves, are probably also designed to serve as a barometer of public opinion, and even as a sounding box for the reactions of the Western Powers. Azerbaijan could be spotlighted in world politics at a moment's notice, and any understanding of the political atmosphere of Azerbaijan would be incomplete unless it were borne in mind that it is the reality of this threat rather than its greater or lesser imminence which is the predominant element in the official Azerbaijani mind.

7. It would be a ridiculous exaggeration to suggest that what happens in Persian Azerbaijan today is of any great moment in world affairs, but it would be equally ridiculous to deny that what might happen in Azerbaijan tomorrow might have far-reaching importance in world politics. It is therefore worthwhile briefly to attempt to assess the effect of continued Russian propaganda in Persian Azerbaijan. This is no easy matter, but several points are worth bearing in mind. Azerbaijan comprises several ethnological groups. Both

the Kurds and the Armenians form exclusive communities amongst the Azerbaijanis, who in their turn tend to regard themselves as distinct from the Persians within the administrative framework of Persia. The Kurds are open to listen to talk of Kurdish independence; the richer Armenians are time-servers and will take care to be on the right side, and the mass have close religious affinities with Russia; finally the Azerbaijanis themselves would turn no deaf ear to talk of autonomy within the Persian Empire. Among all this, perhaps the only practical unifying element is the army which absorbs recruits speaking Kurdish, Armenian and Turki, and teaches them all to read and write Persian and gives them some sort of *esprit de corps*. Clearly this is fertile soil for separatist propaganda, and it is unfortunate that the Government should have heaped metaphorical manure on it by their neglect of the province. As against all this, of course, the Government hold a very strong card in the loyalty of Azerbaijan to the person of the Shah. The attempt on His Imperial Majesty's life provoked genuine and widespread expressions of loyalty. The well-timed visit of Prince Ali Reza was well received. But, if this province, ethnologically and geographically wide open to subversive propaganda, is to be defended against it, much more must be done than the occasional royal visit.

8. It would be a relatively easy matter for the Government in some measure to improve their position in Azerbaijan. There are a few patent abuses that should be put right. The inconsequent policy of the appointment and removal of a mixed bag of assorted governors-general should be stopped. This, in itself, would cost the Government nothing, and would go a long way towards removing a lot of other grounds for complaint such as unemployment, food shortages, bad water supply, bad light and power supply, seasonal fuel shortage, poor factory conditions, stagnation of business, tightness of money. A glance at that catalogue leaves small room for wonder that many people, even if they fear the Russians, look back with something akin to longing to the prosperous days of the Democrat régime. It is hard to believe that the central authorities appreciate conditions in this vital province, or alternatively that they appreciate the importance of it as a frontier province. Indeed, without an effective governor-general, it seems unlikely that they have

been receiving reliable reports on the province.

9. The first essential in the province is an energetic governor-general who could not only see what is required in the province (M. Fahimi foresaw many useful measures) but who would have sufficient influence in Tehran to get what he wanted, and sufficient standing locally to see that his plans were carried out. Although this frontier province is one in which the army by definition must play an important rôle, its immediate problems are primarily economic and social, and the position of the civil administration under the governor-general as the principal authority should be undisputed. Everything should be done to lend it prestige which is now so sorely lacking. Such an administration could find out why bread and sugar which are plentiful have disappeared from the shops, why roads are deteriorating, and rusting water-pipes clutter the streets of Tabriz month after month, why houses are demolished to make way for an avenue the ultimate course of which is still not decided, and all this when the estimated number of unemployed is about 30,000. If we are told that the money is not there to carry on the work once started, or that materials are lacking, that is an explanation, but for a self-respecting administration it would be a damning confession of bad planning. It is recognised, of course, that planning on a European standard of efficiency is not to be expected, but there are plenty of men in Persia whose planning ability can surpass the feeble efforts hitherto in evidence in Tabriz. Intrigue has wrecked many a plan, and one of the answers to intrigue is to have a strong man at the head of affairs who, if he cannot eradicate intrigue, can at least be fairly certain of out-intriguing the intriguers and assuring some continuity in his plans. In this connexion it should be said that the appointment of M. Mehran as governor of Tabriz and acting governor-general appears to be a step in the right direction. He is keen and well-informed. His first act, he tells His Majesty's Consul, was to telegraph to the Shah and tell him how shocked he was to find so great a deterioration in Tabriz since he left several months ago, on relinquishing his post as head of the Finance Department in Azerbaijan.

10. The foregoing destructive criticism would be valueless unless it were supported by some constructive suggestion. The only action which appears to be open to His

Majesty's Government is continually to urge upon the Tehran authorities the parlous state and the political importance of this province and to press them to leave able men like Mehran long enough in office to achieve something. Their achievements will of course bear a direct relationship to the amount of support they receive from the capital.

11. More detailed action, tending to stabilise the wavering Armenian community might take the form of propaganda reminding them of the iconoclastic policy of the Soviet Government, and assuring them that if their Church in the U.S.S.R. enjoys momentary benevolence on the part of the Russians, this will last only so long as it suits the Kremlin, and when the term is reached, their Church will be swept away as others have been.

12. The object of this report is not to suggest that Azerbaijan is about to be invaded, that it would welcome invaders, nor that it is on the verge of anarchy. The picture which it is intended to present is one of an unhappy province, open to subversive propaganda, which could be won back into the body of Persia by a few wise measures, and by the sympathetic interest of the capital or better still, the Crown.

13. The period under review has been one of shortages—shortages of bread, light and power, fuel oil, employment, and last but not least, money. Some of these shortages are temporary, some are recurrent, and some, like the poor (how true the phrase rings in Tabriz) are always with us. In fairness it must be said that the extraordinarily severe winter was largely to blame for the hardship of conditions.

14. In February the governor-general of Azerbaijan, M. Khalil Fahimi, gave it as his opinion that not only was there plenty of grain in the province but that, after supplying grain for seed, there would probably be a surplus left for export to Tehran. By the end of June there had been bread riots in the province, bread at the controlled price was almost unobtainable in Tabriz and was in any case virtually uneatable, and the acting governor-general had been obliged to appeal to Tehran for a reserve of imported wheat to be held in the Tabriz silos. It is generally accepted that there is plenty of grain and flour in the province, but that speculators have concealed it, while corruption in the lower grades of officialdom makes it impossible to unearth the hidden stocks.

15. For the whole of the period under review Tabriz has been without any proper electric light supply. Even now, when with the long days consumption is fairly low, electricity is not available to householders after about 10 o'clock in the evening. By mid-May three generators were working, two were under repair, and two new ones were expected from Czechoslovakia. Two factories were invited to supply power to the town. The Tabriz Electric Company, to make good the deficiencies of the Tabriz Light Company, was floated. Three hundred shares, each worth 1,000 rials down and 2,000 rials on call were sold. It seems that it will be a long time before the new company can contribute effectively to the electric light and power supply. It would appear to be an elementary measure to institute daylight saving hours throughout Persia, although the impact of such a scheme on vested interests is obvious.

16. The shortage of petroleum products in Tabriz during the winter was alarming in its acuteness. This was entirely attributable to the cutting of communications. Petrol tankers could not get through the snow-bound roads. This shortage, then, comes into the category of temporary shortages. It is now up to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the local authorities to see to it that it is not also in the recurrent category. It is understood that the company are planning for bulk storage in Tabriz, but that their installation will not be ready for two years. In the meantime we face two intervening winters with no guarantee, other than the untrustworthy law of averages, that one at least will not be extremely severe. Broadly speaking, the position is that the factories have adequate storage space of their own, but that storage space is inadequate for the uses of the general public including bakeries, which are of capital importance. His Majesty's Consul discussed this question with the acting governor-general who is fully alive to the dangers of the situation, and will take such steps as he can to reduce risks of a second shortage.

17. During the first half of 1949 unemployment has been one of the major problems which the administration has had to face. Unofficial estimates put the figure of unemployed at about 30,000. Strangely enough, during winter there was rather less seasonable unemployment than might have been expected, since numerous able-bodied men were employed in shovelling

snow. In the spring there was not the expected reduction in unemployment as public works and the like got under way. This was because, while a number of men found employment in such works, the ranks of the unemployed were swelled by the villagers coming in to seek work, since the severity of the winter had interfered with their normal agricultural pursuits. A further contributory cause of unemployment is the reduction of transit trade and the general quietness of business, which has thrown many of the useless but formerly modestly paid sitters-about in shops and runners-about in the bazaar onto the labour market. It is also probable that there was always a great deal of latent unemployment, and since general poverty has now made it impossible for small-earners to maintain unemployable relatives, the latter have come into the open as unemployed distressed persons.

18. Throughout the period under review money has become more and more scarce in Tabriz. Perhaps the most striking proof of this is the fact that bazaar rates for good signatures rose from 24 per cent. to 48 per cent. per annum, very much higher rates being quoted on less reliable signatures. The shortage of credit is due to two main causes, namely the Government's foreign exchange policy which freezes large sums of money for months between the placing of an order and the arrival of goods in Persia, and the curtailment of the activities of the Imperial Bank of Iran.

19. Two important public works have been undertaken. Work has begun on the new drinking water reservoir which it was finally decided to construct on a site not far from the Mahpeyker reservoir which was left half-finished by the Democrat régime. Pipes are laid along the Tabriz streets, and in some places trenches to hold them have been dug. Secondly, the asphaltting of the Tabriz-Tehran road is well in hand. The road as far as Mianeh comes under the administration of this province. Work is also being done on some Tabriz streets.

20. In April famine conditions prevailed in the Moghan Steppe. The Azerbaijan Finance Department reported losses of 100,000 sheep, 300,000 lambs and numerous other livestock.

21. Great interest was taken in this province in the negotiations between the A.I.O.C. and the Persian Government. The general public had access only to the

partisan version of the negotiations as retailed in the local and Tehran press. There can be little doubt that popular feeling on the subject was strong, while official feeling was even more uncompromising, largely because the Persians see in

a favourable agreement with the company, their only possibility of financing the Seven-Year Plan.

R. G. DUNDAS.
Acting British Consul-General.

E 8874/1015/34

No. 26

PERSIAN ELECTORAL PROCEDURE

Literacy Qualification and Secret Ballot

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 21st July)

(No. 251)
Sir,

Tehran,
15th July, 1949.

In my telegram No. 563 of 15th July I reported the passage by the Majlis on 13th July of article 6 of the Electoral Law, which insists on a literacy qualification for voters and provides for a secret ballot.

2. A translation of the article as voted is attached. The text, for which M. Taqizadeh and Dr. Matin Daftari are principally responsible, represents a compromise in the matter of the electoral vouchers by which voters are required to establish their identity and their right to vote. The original draft required voters to produce their electoral vouchers at the forthcoming elections. The fact that it is manifestly impossible for the vouchers to be ready in time was seized upon by the opponents of the literacy qualification, who endeavoured, as reported in my despatch No. 227 of 21st June, to suspend the application of article 6 until the next election but one. The effect of the article, as now voted, is to allow voters to identify themselves at the forthcoming elections by

means of their ordinary identity cards and to require the production of the special vouchers in time for the elections to the 17th Majlis.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 26

(Translation)

Voting is direct and secret. Therefore, as soon as the voter enters the Committee Room, he will, after showing his identity card in the 16th Majlis elections and his Election Card in those of the 17th, obtain a voting paper from the Committee. He will then record his vote in the place appointed in the Committee Room for voting and throw (the paper) into the ballot box.

E 8880/1103/34

No. 27

PLANNING OF DEVELOPMENT WORKS IN PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 21st July)

(No. 259 E. Confidential). *Tehran.*
Sir,

19th July, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 242 E. of 5th July reporting the approval of the Bill authorising the Planning Organisation to undertake development works during the current Persian year, I have the honour to transmit to you, herewith, a summary of a statement issued to

the press by Dr. Taqi Nasr, indicating the projects which are to be given priority.

2. These projects include some of those mentioned by Dr. Taqi Nasr to Mr. Bayne of the International Bank, and also others, such as the creation of co-operatives for peasants and smallholders, and an anti-malaria campaign. A further new feature is the proposal to grant credits to persons

wishing to collaborate in the realisation of the plan and to enterprises desirous of importing industrial equipment. I understand that Dr. Taqi Nasr is advocating the establishment of a "Plan Bank" to give effect to this proposal. It is not clear what advantages such a bank would have over the existing banking institutions, and its functions would in any case overlap those of the Industrial and Mining Bank and of the Agricultural Bank. A further factor influencing Dr. Taqi Nasr in this matter is no doubt a desire to make the Planning Organisation as independent as possible of the Bank Melli as regards the implementation of its own financial policy. As would be expected, Mr. Ibtihaj is strongly opposed to this proposal to create a new bank, and it remains to be seen whether it is carried into practice.

3. Dr. Taqi Nasr has found it impossible to send a letter to Mr. Bayne on the lines mentioned in paragraph 10 of my despatch No. 237 E. of 4th July, as the necessary studies for the preparation of a programme for the current year have not been completed, and on further consideration he feels that the final report of Overseas Consultants Incorporated should first be studied before a programme is drawn up. He has merely written to Mr. Bayne informing him of the passage of the sole article Bill and giving him an outline of the Planning Organisation. As regards the projects of immediate interest, he has referred only to the railway extensions Mianeh-Tabriz and Shahrud-Meshed, the work on which can be put in hand immediately; cement plants, including one in Tehran; and a power plant at Fashan in the Jajrud valley where coal is available. He has pointed out that at this stage it is not possible to furnish a complete list and has suggested that the International Bank might wish to send out a mission to investigate the projects mentioned and also any others which might be considered suitable for priority attention in the course of further studies by the Planning Organisation during the next few months.

4. Dr. Musharaf Nafisi has now returned to Tehran, and I understand that he intends to give the Planning Organisation his fullest co-operation. He has not been back long enough to form an impression of the administration being set up under Dr. Taqi Nasr.

5. I am sending a separate despatch by this bag regarding the Bank Melli's foreign exchange reserves and the change of policy

on the part of Mr. Ibtihaj regarding the use of some of them for financing imports under the Seven-Year Plan (see paragraph 9 of my despatch No. 237 E. of 4th July).

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, to His Majesty's Treasury, to the Commercial Relations and Export Department of the Board of Trade, to Export Credits Guarantee Department and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 27

Summary of a Statement issued to the Press on 5th July by Dr. Taqi Nasr, after Approval of the Bill authorising the Planning Organisation to undertake Development Works during the Persian Year 1328 (1949-50)

Dr. Taqi Nasr, Director-General of the Planning Organisation, stated that development works would commence immediately. He added that the necessary funds would be assured by oil royalties, a loan from the International Bank and a loan from the Bank Melli. Actually a part of the oil royalties was already at the disposal of the Planning Organisation, and this would permit the financing of the initial works. The organisation proposed to submit to the Government within a week the first part of its programme for the present year, the main objects of which are as follows —

- (1) The grant of credits to persons wishing to collaborate in the realisation of the plan. For instance, the organisation would grant long-term credits and technical aid to industries and enterprises wishing to import industrial equipment.
- (2) Within two weeks, the construction of the railway extensions Mianeh-Tabriz and Shahrud-Meshed would begin.
- (3) As regards agriculture, the plan would grant credits for the building of secondary barrages, the purchase of agricultural machinery and the sinking of wells.
- (4) The organisation would encourage the creation of co-operatives for peasants and smallholders and

through the Agricultural Bank would grant long-term credits for agricultural development.

- (5) The anti-malaria campaign would commence during the present year.

The organisation would ask the Government for credits for each of the above projects and would start work as soon as they

were granted. To avoid further delay the Government had yet to designate the members of the Supervisory Committee of the plan.

Overseas Consultants Incorporated had asked for a delay of one month to submit its report. The projects it would recommend had still to be verified on the spot.

E 9642/1015/34

No. 28

PERSIAN ELECTORAL REFORM BILL

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Attlee (Received 8th August)

(No. 279)
Sir,

*Tehran,
2nd August, 1949.*

With reference to my despatch No. 251 of 18th July about article 6 of the Electoral Reform Bill, I have the honour to report that the debate on the remaining two articles of the Bill took place on 21st July.

2. During the discussion, article 7, which laid down penalties for the falsification of voting papers was rejected: the original article 8 which removed the age-limit of 70 for Majlis deputies was withdrawn by the Government before the debate: and the final article, which was approved, merely annulled other legislation conflicting with the Bill under debate.

3. Deputies had tabled numerous proposals and supplementary articles to the Bill. Time did not permit the discussion of these nor indeed the voting of the Bill as a whole. The Closing sessions of the 15th Majlis were taken up by the debate on the oil agreement and as this itself was not concluded before the Majlis' term expired on 28th July it was not possible,

despite a pious expression of hope by the Prime Minister on the morning of 26th July, to bring the Electoral Reform Bill before the Majlis again for final approval. The elections for the 16th Majlis will thus be held under the existing law and there will be no secret ballot or literacy test.

4. I stated in my telegram No. 599 of 27th July that the elections to the 16th Majlis would begin on 6th August. It appears from subsequent announcements in the press that it will be the Senate elections which begin on 6th August and that these will be followed immediately by the Majlis elections. In his closing speech to the 15th Majlis the Prime Minister said that he hoped both the Senate and the 16th Majlis would be opened on 6th October.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 9749/1531/34

No. 29

ANGLO-PERSIAN OIL NEGOTIATIONS

Agreement between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Persian Government

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Wright (Received 10th August)

Tehran,

Dear Michael, *2nd August, 1949.*

Please refer to my telegram No. 569 of 16th July about the formula dealing with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's general plan of "Iranianisation" (article 16 of the Concession).

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I enclose a copy of the letter on this subject signed jointly by Gass and the Minister of Finance. You will see that the Government and the Company are committed to reaching final agreement on the general plan within three months of signature of the letter, i.e., 17th July, and not from the

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date of application of the supplementary agreement. The letter is only valid if the agreement is ratified by the Majlis.

It is quite possible that ratification may not have taken place within three months of 17th July,⁽¹⁾ in which event an exchange of letters extending this period will presumably be necessary.

Yours ever,

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 29

General Plan

17th July, 1949.

To: The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Limited.

The Imperial Persian Government recognise that the essential principles of the General Plan, including the principle of

⁽¹⁾ See my Despatch No. 279 (paragraph 4)

percentage reduction, on which the General Plan prepared in accordance with article 16(3) of the Concession is based are acceptable to the Government.

The Ministry of Finance will complete within a period of two months its examination of the rate of percentage reduction and other matters of the General Plan, and will submit the Plan for approval to the Council of Ministers.

If within a period of three months from the date of this letter the General Plan is not agreed upon between the Imperial Government and the Company the parties will immediately refer to arbitration in accordance with article 22 of the Principal Agreement any matter in connexion with the General Plan upon which they cannot agree.

This letter is valid on condition of the ratification by the Majlis of the Supplemental Agreement.

E 9784/1941/80

No. 30

VISIT OF KING ABDULLAH TO PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 11th August)

(No. 287)

Tehran.

Sir,

8th August, 1949.

I have the honour to report that on 28th July King Abdullah of Jordan arrived in this country by air on a State visit to Iran.

2. King Abdullah, who had flown here in a special aircraft piloted by the son of the Iraqi Prime Minister, was received by the Shah at Mihrabad airfield with fitting ceremonial. A salute of 21 guns was fired in his honour, after which Their Majesties drove at the head of a considerable procession, through streets lined with the flags of Jordan and Iran and under triumphal arches, to the Palace of Sahabqaranieh, in the hills north of the city, which had been assigned to the King and his suite for the duration of the visit. Accompanying His Majesty were his Prime Minister and his Minister for Foreign Affairs; Samir Pasha Ar-Rafa'i, former Prime Minister of Jordan; the Jordanian Minister at Beirut; General Bihjat Pasha Tayyareh; Muhammad Baik-Az-Zibati, Minister of the Court of Jordan; the head of the Protocol Department for the tribes and other dignitaries from Jordan, including Muhammad Pasha Ash-Shuraiki, Jordanian Minister to

Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, who subsequently, as reported in my despatch No. 282 of 4th August, presented his letters of credence to the Shah as Minister of Jordan to this country.

3. As on the occasion of the visit of the Regent of Iraq, which I reported in my despatch No. 232 of 28th June, the Royal visitor was subjected to a heavy programme of official entertainment and sightseeing during his stay. His Majesty lunched with the Shah at the Palace of Sa'adabad on the day of his arrival, but, no doubt in consideration of the fatigue likely to have been caused by his journey, no official reception was arranged that evening and the King dined alone at Sahabqaranieh.

4. On the following day King Abdullah entertained the Shah at a luncheon, and in the afternoon visited the Masjid-i-Shah, where he led the prayers, and the Archaeological Museum, where a Persian poet and the Jordanian Minister Designate to this country, who is also a poet, vied with one another in eulogising the two sovereigns. In the evening His Majesty was entertained by the Shah at a dinner at Sa'adabad to which a number of Heads of Mission,

including myself, were invited. In addition to the usual speeches by the two monarchs Muhammad Pasha Ash-Shuraiki read out a poem of his own composition which was translated into Persian by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and made an excellent impression on those who understood it. After dinner there was a display of fireworks in the gardens of the palace attended by numerous members of the Diplomatic Corps. The King, however, retired at a fairly early hour, and was not present at a performance of Persian music which subsequently took place inside the palace.

5. On 30th July His Majesty visited the Majlis and the Mosque Sipahsalar, and in the afternoon took tea at Tehran University. On that day, as reported in my telegram No. 606, I had the honour of being received in audience by His Majesty, who was extremely friendly but did not touch on matters of other than general interest. That night a reception in His Majesty's honour was given by the Prime Minister in the gardens of the Gulistan Palace, at which once again the Diplomatic Corps and the Government—but this time neither the Shah nor any other member of the Imperial family—were present.

6. On 31st July His Majesty visited Princess Ashraf's School of Nursing and the Pahlavi Hospital, afterwards driving to Karaj, where he lunched at the Botanical Gardens and visited a number of agricultural establishments. In the evening a reception was given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs at the former German summer Legation, now the summer residence of the Minister. Once again members of the Government and Diplomatic Corps were present; and there was a performance of Persian music (rendered, rather unfortunately, on European instruments) which lasted late into the night.

7. On 1st August King Abdullah gave a press conference at which he spoke of the need for unity among the nations of Islam in the face of possible aggression, and praised the work of the Shah and his predecessor. On the same day His Majesty received in audience the Ambassadors of the United States, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Egypt, and the Ministers of Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. He also visited the Bank Milli, where he saw the Crown jewels and heard an account by Mr. Ibtihaj of the activities of that institution. In the afternoon a reception was given in his

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honour at the Town Hall by the Mayor of Tehran, attended among others by Heads of Foreign Missions in formal dress. There was, however, no official dinner.

8. On the morning of 2nd August the King visited the Tehran arsenal, the ammunition factory at Saltanatabad and the summer camp of the Military Academy, and in the afternoon inspected the First Division of the Iranian army at Lashkarak and watched their exercises. In the evening His Majesty was host at a dinner party in honour of the Shah at Sahabqaranieh, at the conclusion of which he entertained His Imperial Majesty with a firework display and a performance of ballet dancing and singing somewhat resembling the entertainment offered to him on previous evenings. Once again the Diplomatic Corps and members of the Government were present.

9. That concluded the official part of His Majesty's visit. On the following day, however, he travelled to Mazandaran, where the Imperial Palace of Ramsar had been put at his disposal for a few days. He returned to Tehran by a special train on 5th August, and flew to Meshed on 6th August on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Imam Riza. He left Iran by air on 8th August.

10. The newspapers in this country have recorded the activities of King Abdullah during his visit in lyrical style, and such written statements and public utterances as he has made from time to time during the visit have been prominently reproduced and sympathetically commented upon. Even allowing for conventional panegyrics, it can be said that His Majesty, by his dignified and serious bearing and invariable tact, as well as by his appearance of wisdom and benevolence, made an excellent impression on those who saw him. He seemed to be on cordial terms with the Shah (though they could only converse through an interpreter) and referred frequently in public with expressions of admiration to the work accomplished by His Imperial Majesty and by Riza Shah Pahlavi before him, and to the beauty, culture and civilisation of present-day Iran. Shortly before the King's arrival five thoroughbred Arab horses were presented to the Shah on his behalf. So far as the Iranian people are concerned, the visit of this ruler, who is not only a pious Muslim but also the military leader of this nation, has been an outward sign of the solidarity between Iran and Jordan as fellow members of the community

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of Islamic nations at this critical time. One immediate concrete result of the visit has been that talks have begun between representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the two countries with a view to the conclusion of an Iranian-Jordanian commercial agreement.

11. On the day of His Majesty's departure a communiqué was issued in the press, signed by the Foreign Ministers of Iran and Jordan, stating that, as a result of the conversations which had taken place during the visit between representatives of the two Governments, agreement had been reached on the following points:—

- (1) The creation of good political relations through the conclusion of a treaty of friendship between the two Governments.
- (2) The development of economic relations through the conclusion of a commercial agreement.
- (3) Cultural and literary collaboration between the two countries.
- (4) Collaboration in international questions with a view to safeguarding peace and creating security in the world, within the framework of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the obligations of the Hashimite Kingdom of

Jordan, defined in the Charter of the Arab Nations.

- (5) Collaboration in the creation of a good understanding between the two countries, the solution by means of conciliation of such disputes as might arise between the Islamic peoples, and the strengthening of economic and cultural relations between all the Islamic nations.

The communiqué concluded by stating that it went without saying that the two Governments would accept any proposal approved by the Islamic countries which was designed to create greater harmony between them.

12. In the course of a press conference on the previous day the Iranian Minister for Foreign Affairs in answer to a question as to whether a military agreement had been concluded between Iran and Jordan declared that State visits of this sort had no political character and that there was no truth in rumours that a military agreement had been concluded.

13. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Amman and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 9812/11345/34

No. 31

PERSIAN NEED OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Attlee. (Received 11th August)

(No. 289. Secret)

Tehran,
8th August, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 260 of 19th July, in which I reported my audience with the Shah on 18th July, I have the honour to report that Persian expectations of help from their war-time allies, with which His Majesty appeared on that occasion to be preoccupied, have recently been the subject of two press conferences, one held on 6th August by the Prime Minister, and one on 7th by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

2. M. Sa'ed spoke with some bitterness of Persia's disappointment, contrasting the failure of the United States to help Persia with the aid granted by the United States to former enemy States. He dismissed the military aid given so far by the United States, on the grounds that the military

equipment supplied was being paid for by Persia herself, omitting any mention of the fact that twelve years' credit had been granted by the United States Government. He went on to complain that the United States Government had treated the recent Persian approach for supplies of wheat as a purely commercial matter, and not one of both economic and political importance. He concluded by saying that the supply of wheat to meet deficits in Persia was infinitely more important than that of military equipment.

3. M. Hikmat, in his press conference on the following day, seemed concerned to allay the effect of M. Sa'ed's remarks without laying himself open to accusations that he was lukewarm in his defence of Persian interests. The allies, he said, had made certain promises to Persia which had not

been fulfilled. For example, the Soviet Union had not returned the Persian gold which had been sent to Moscow during the war. He admitted, however, that the State Department had done their best to meet the requests made to them by the Persian Embassy in Washington.

4. M. Hikmat said that, as a result of declarations made by the President of the United States and the Secretary of State, the Persian Government had considered it its duty to request help from the United States Government in accordance with President Truman's Fourth Point. The Seven-Year Plan was not, in itself, sufficient to restore health to the Persian economy without foreign aid. Accordingly M. Husain Ala had made two visits to the State Department, one on 29th June to Mr. James Webb, Economic Under-Secretary at the State Department, and a second on 29th June to Mr. McGee, Director of the Near Eastern Department, and both these gentlemen had agreed that Persia was in need of immediate help to restore her economy, including both industry and agriculture, and her social fabric. The Persian Government had, with reference to the

Fourth Point of President Truman's statement, submitted a detailed list of Persia's needs in the way of foreign assistance. This included the following items:—

	Million \$
Industry	35
Communications (including railways)	37
Public health	20
Education	9
Agriculture	25

No answer had yet been received to Persia's requests, and the Persian Government were surprised at this silence, since the United States had accorded liberal aid to other countries who had done less during the war for the allied cause. M. Hikmat was, however, at pains to emphasise that the Persian Government did not object to the aid accorded to other countries.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 10415/1015/34

No. 32

POLITICAL SITUATION IN PERSIA

Effect of Martial Law in Tehran

Mr. Lawford to Mr. Bavin. (Received 26th August)

(No. 298)
Sir,

Tehran,
23rd August, 1949.

I have the honour to refer to Sir John le Rougetel's telegram No. 121 of 6th February, reporting Government action against the Tudeh Party after the attempt on the Shah.

2. Since the imposition of martial law in Tehran on 4th February, overt Soviet activities in Persia have been reduced to a minimum. Martial law was raised in the capital on 7th August, presumably in view of the impending elections (please see Sir John le Rougetel's despatch No. 279 of 2nd August), and this affords an appropriate occasion to review the present scope of pro-Soviet activities inside Persia and to consider the possibility of their extension.

3. Since the trials, which have from time to time been reported by this embassy, of

members of the ex-Tudeh Party and of others alleged to have Tudeh or Communist affiliations, there have been some other arrests and these measures, together with the proscription of the Tudeh Party and the suppression of the Tudeh and Left-wing press, have greatly hampered overt subversive activities on the part of the Soviet Government and their Communist collaborators. The closing of Soviet consulates all over the country and of some VOKS institutes has also rendered the overt dissemination of pro-Soviet or pro-Communist notions much more difficult.

4. In Tehran the only recent concrete evidence of Tudeh activities has been the discovery of a clandestine printing press and the distribution of leaflets, four of which I have seen. The first was issued shortly after the attempt on the Shah's life and three others have been issued during

the past few weeks. One, signed by the central executive committee of the party, made a violent attack on the Electoral Reform Bill then being debated in the Majlis; another, signed by the youth organisation of the party, bitterly criticised the oil agreement, the Bill for the ratification of which was also at that time before the Majlis. It is perhaps significant that although at the time when these leaflets were issued the passage both of the Electoral Reform Bill and of the Bill ratifying the oil agreement was generally expected, neither was, in fact, passed. One can hardly ascribe this to Tudeh influence; but the appearance of the leaflets at this juncture may seem to the public more than a coincidence, and may possibly give them the impression that the party is more powerful than it really is. The most recent leaflet appeared on 5th August, the anniversary of the Constitution. Unlike the others it was duplicated and not printed. It was issued by the party youth organisation and was a virulent attack on "Imperialist" attempts to undermine the existing Constitution.

5. Reports which I have received from His Majesty's Consul-General in Ahwaz show that in Southern Persia Tudeh activity has been considerable. There have been a large number of clandestine meetings, and literature has been distributed. There have also been stories that many candidates for staff employment in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, who have completed their studies in the Shabpur School in Ahwaz, are imbued with Tudeh ideology and are not averse to voicing their opinions. His Majesty's Consul-General reports, however, a lack of direction from Tehran and it has been suggested that the

centre of gravity of Tudeh activity may at present be in the south, among the industrial workers, rather than in the capital.

6. It was always expected that the suppression of the overt activities of the party might stimulate its covert operations, unless there was some rapid and evident betterment in the lot of the masses which might render them less susceptible to propaganda. Unfortunately, in spite of exhortations, promises and threats, the condition of the poorer classes has greatly deteriorated and is now probably worse than it has been for at least thirty years. It is true that they have been long acquainted with misery and that it is therefore hard to believe that there will be any large-scale vigorous reaction on their part to incitement from the Tudeh covert propaganda machine. But there is certainly much latent discontent, one of the main causes of which is that they have, since the opening of the 14th Majlis in 1944, been told to expect something better, whereas, in spite of constant talk of reforms, raising of the standard of living, equalisation of the burden of taxation, and so forth, nothing has, in fact, been done; and the Tudeh Party will naturally hope to profit from this discontent. If it continues, it seems inevitable that covert Tudeh activities, including the distribution of pamphlets and attempts to influence the industrial workers of the south, possibly made easier now by the removal of martial law, will continue and increase.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

V. G. LAWFORD.

E 12712/1055/34

No. 33

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE PERSIAN PRIME MINISTER

Situation in Persia and her Relations with the Soviet Union

Mr. Beein to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 207. Confidential) Foreign Office,
Sir, 18th October, 1949.

On the strength of Mr. Lawford's telegram No. 776 of 10th October, I arranged for the Persian Prime Minister to see me to-day, following his arrival in London

yesterday. He explained that he had come to England to obtain medical advice for his wife, and that he wished to take the opportunity of this, his first visit to London, to pay a courtesy call. M. Sa'ed went on to say that Persia had been facing great

financial and economic difficulties this year, and the Government were having great difficulty in finding sufficient funds. He said that despite the terms of the Tehran Declaration of December 1943, Persia had received no outside aid from her allies; it benefited neither by Marshall Aid nor by Government loans, and, on the contrary, one of her wartime allies, Soviet Russia, was refusing to release Persian assets in Russia, consisting of twelve tons of gold and 8 million dollars which had been paid to Persian account in Moscow as the equivalent of rials supplied to the Russian forces of occupation during the war. The Soviet Authorities refused to comply with requests for the transfer of these assets to Persia without giving any reason. Further, the Russians had failed to meet Persian claims for the payment of 100 million tomans (equivalent to 30 million dollars) due on account of billeting costs, customs duties, and similar services provided to the Russian forces.

2. M. Sa'ed said that the exceptionally hard winter of 1948-49 had caused financial and economic difficulties, and the Persian Government were now faced with a struggle to ensure to their population the necessities of life. Asked for examples of these necessities, M. Sa'ed said that for the first time for many years Persia had been obliged to import a substantial quantity of wheat. Poverty and distress did not make for good government. The Persian Government hoped that in this situation they could count on the help of His Majesty's Government. He added that the budget deficit was at present running at a rate equivalent to about 80 million dollars a year.

3. Mr. Sa'ed then said that the agreement with the oil company had unfortunately not been ratified by the last Majlis before its dissolution. There was a great deal of opposition to it, both in the Majlis and in the press. The Persian Government were strongly defending the agreement, and intended to submit it for ratification to the next Majlis when it was convened in a month or six weeks' time. I said that the terms of the agreement were, of course, to be settled between the Persian Government and the company, but His Majesty's Government had tried to lend their good offices to reach the settlement, which seemed to be eminently fair and reasonable. M. Sa'ed went on to say that the Persian

Government felt confident of their ability to defend the agreement; there were, however, certain points of particular difficulty on which M. Sa'ed hoped that His Majesty's Government could be of assistance. He had put these points, he said, into an *aide-memoire*, which he handed to me. A copy of this *aide-memoire*(¹) is enclosed. I said that I would study it with great care; I noticed the reference to the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer regarding the increase of Profits Tax, and said I would look into this point particularly. M. Sa'ed said that, owing to the incidence of this tax, the Persians considered that they were made indirectly subject to United Kingdom taxation. M. Sa'ed asked whether anything could be done, either directly or indirectly, to relieve Persia of this burden.

4. Turning to relations with the Soviet Union, M. Sa'ed said that here too the Persian Government were facing great difficulties. They would, however, maintain their position stoutly, and he wished me to know that His Majesty's Government could count on them. He would face the Russians with calmness. I said that both His Majesty's Government and the United States Government were very ready to support the Persian Government to the best of our ability. We had tried to support Persia during the difficult time in 1945-46 when it was doubtful whether the Soviet Union would withdraw their forces from Persia. We felt that Persia was one of the family. I recalled the declaration regarding Persia, made at the time of the signature of the Atlantic Pact, and said that it seemed to me to be as strong as the Atlantic Pact itself. M. Sa'ed said that the Persian Government deeply appreciated the spirit of this declaration.

5. I said that both the United States Government and His Majesty's Government were deeply interested in the efforts being made by the Persian Government to develop the economic resources of the country, and I enquired about the Seven-Year Plan. M. Sa'ed said that his Government had obtained the approval of the Majlis to the Seven-Year Plan Bill, and that work on the Plan was now beginning. He referred once again to the shortage of funds, and to his hope that His Majesty's Government would be able to help the Persian Government with the points of difficulty which faced them in obtaining the approval of the next

(¹) Not printed.

Majlis to the oil agreement. He hoped that His Majesty's Government could consider the matter with a broad view, and would bear in mind that his suggestions were put forward for amicable discussion between friends.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington and to the British Middle East Office.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

E 13104/10338/34

No. 34

PERSO-SOVIET CONSULAR RELATIONS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 27th October)

(No. 372 Confidential) *Tehran,*
Sir, *21st October, 1949.*

With reference to my despatch No. 206 of 6th June, I have the honour to enclose herewith copies^(*) of correspondence recently published by the Persian Ministry for Foreign Affairs concerning consular relations between the two Governments.

2. The introduction emphasises the desire of the Persian Government for close diplomatic and commercial relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the sacrifices made by Persia in the Allied cause during the recent war. It states that the Ministry's object in publishing the correspondence is to correct erroneous interpretations of the recent rupture of consular relations, and expresses the hope that they will be resumed. The sequence of events as it emerges from the correspondence now published is summarised below.

3. In January 1938 the Soviet Government proposed to reduce its consular representation in Persia to one post at Pahlevi and requested the Persian Government to reduce their consular representation in the Soviet Union to one post at Tiflis. On receipt of confirmation that this was part of a general reduction of Soviet consular representation abroad the Persian Government instructed the Persian Embassy in Moscow to press for a second Persian consulate, at Ashkabad, but if necessary to accept only one at Baku (instead of Tiflis).

4. After the Allied invasion of 1941 the Soviet Ambassador requested permission to open no less than twenty-three consular posts in Persia. This list was later reduced to eleven, and to this the Persian Government agreed, on condition that the Soviet Government would consent in principle to the opening of Persian Consulates at Tashkent, Astrakhan, Batoum and Erivan.

The Soviet Government replied that they were not opposed in principle to an extension of Persian consular representation in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics although it would not be possible during the war.

5. The Persian Government repeated their desire for reciprocity, in a note dated 4th July, 1948, in which they asked whether the Soviet Government would now agree to the opening of further Persian Consulates in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or whether they preferred to return to the arrangements of 1938. This note contained the suggestion that it was only as a temporary measure and in the interests of the Allied war effort that the Persian Government had agreed to the extension of the Soviet consular net-work in 1941. The note remained unanswered for over six months: one written reminder is included in the published collection and it is evident that the Persian Ministry for Foreign Affairs raised the matter repeatedly in conversations with the Soviet Embassy. Finally in March 1949 the Persian Government informed the Soviet Embassy that in view of their failure to reply to the Ministry's previous notes and the Soviet Government's refusal of reciprocity, they had decided to end the temporary arrangements made during the war and, returning to those of 1938, to recognise only the Soviet Consulate-General at Pahlevi. The Ministry, therefore, requested the closure of the other Soviet consular posts.

6. The Soviet Embassy at once replied, stating that the extension of Soviet consular representation in Persia had been no mere war-time measure but part of the Soviet Government's policy of closer relations with Persia: that the Persian decision was unfriendly discrimination,

(*) Not printed.

since other Governments, particularly His Majesty's Government, maintained consular posts in Persia without giving reciprocity (it is interesting to note that the list of British consular posts given in this note by the Soviet Embassy includes three which were already closed and omits the consulate at Khorramshahr); that it was contrary to international practice: and that the Soviet Government had decided to close all its consulates on Persian territory and to request the Persian Government to close their consulate-general at Baku.

7. The Persian Government in reply pointed out that the Persian agreement to the establishment of Soviet Consulates in 1941 without a reciprocal opening of Persian Consulates in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had been an act of grace and that since the Soviet Government had chosen not to reply to previous requests on the subject of reciprocity, there was only one course open, namely, a return to the arrangements of 1938. The Persian Government indignantly denied the hints about German agents in Persia before 1941: accused the Soviet Government of unilaterally denouncing article 3 of the 1921 treaty establishing consular relations: and stated that they would be glad to allow the Soviet Consulate at Pahlevi to continue and hoped for the re-opening by

agreement of Soviet Consulates in Persia on a reciprocal basis. The Soviet Government in reply merely confirmed their previous note. The Persian Government finally, in a note dated 29th May, accepted the situation but with regret.

8. The sequence of events as revealed by this correspondence does not entirely correspond with the accounts given to me at the time by the competent Persian authorities. For example, as reported in my telegram No. 237 of 16th March, M. Hazhir then intimated that the Soviet Embassy had just replied to a request made some months previously to equalise the number of consulates in Persia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As shown by the correspondence now published, the Russians never replied to the request as to whether they preferred to allow more Persian Consulates in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or to return to the arrangements of 1938, but they did in fact reply in great promptness to a Persian request to close all their consulates, except that at Bandar Pahlevi.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 13110/1015/34

No. 35

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

Audience with the Shah

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 27th October)

(No. 376 Confidential) *Tehran,*
Sir, *25th October, 1949.*

I have the honour to inform you that I was received in audience by the Shah on the 22nd October. His Majesty spoke at some length about the elections, the prospect of ensuring the passage of the Oil Agreement Bill, the recent visit of the King of Afghanistan and the arrangements contemplated for his visit to the United States next month.

2. The Shah said that while in the present circumstances it was impossible for a general election in this country to be completely free in the full and logical sense of the word, he had done everything humanly possible to ensure that interference

was reduced to an absolute minimum. In particular, he had endeavoured to prevent the imposition, either by the Government or by other authority, of prepared lists of candidates, and from the returns received so far—which contained a number of names of quite unknown people—His Majesty deduced that he had not been unsuccessful in this. He said that the American Ambassador had told him that reports received in the United States about the elections had created a very favourable impression there. Information which I have received from various sources since my return to Persia last week suggests, however, that the elections have in fact been conducted on traditional lines and that

there has been no lack of interference. The Shah expressed the hope that with the passage of the new Electoral Law, there would in any case be a notable improvement in every respect. Polling was now sufficiently advanced for the Majlis to be convened before he left for the United States on the 12th or 13th of November, although all the returns would not be in by then.

3. With regard to the Oil Agreement Bill, it was still his intention that there should be no delay in its presentation. As soon as the Majlis was fully constituted, the scrutiny of mandates had been completed and the Government had received the necessary vote of confidence, the Chamber would have to consider certain modifications of parliamentary routine and procedure which had been referred to it by the Constituent Assembly. It would then pass on to the regular agenda, at the head of which was the Oil Agreement Bill. His Majesty said that he could see no advantage, and indeed rather the contrary, in any postponement of the introduction of this Bill whether on account of his own absence from the country or for any other reason. He referred in passing to the possible effect of devaluation on the Agreement signed last July, but seemed to be satisfied with the reasons which I gave him for believing that the company's present offer was not affected by devaluation and that no useful purpose would be served by trying to reopen negotiations with them. The Shah spoke in terms of warm appreciation of the Minister of Finance and I drew the conclusion that he expected M. Golshayan to stand by the Agreement which he has signed.

4. While speaking of M. Golshayan the Shah also referred to a recent decree concerning the foreign exchange operations of the British Bank of Iran, which he considered should meet all the Bank's requirements in that respect. He intimated that this decree had been drafted by the Minister of Finance without prior consultation with M. Ibtihaj, who would no doubt raise strong objection to it when he

returned to this country. As I do not know yet what view the Directors of the Bank have formed about it I refrained from comment.

5. Speaking of the recent visit of the King of Afghanistan, the Shah said that he had welcomed this opportunity to urge his guest to do everything possible to settle outstanding differences between his country and Pakistan. He had pointed out that until this was done there could be no real prospect of closer co-operation between the Islamic powers in this part of the world. His Majesty said that from a purely military point of view he was not sure that such a pact would be advantageous now, but in principle he was sympathetic to the idea of closer co-operation in the economic and administrative spheres between the signatories of the Saadabad Pact with the addition of Pakistan, Jordan and possibly Syria and he had no reason to believe that Turkey would raise objection to such a course. After his journey to the United States, but not before, he hoped to return the visits of King Abdullah and the Regent of Iraq and, in response to a recent invitation from the Governor-General of Pakistan, to visit Karachi.

6. His Majesty said that he intended to take with him to Washington Dr. Quasim Ghani, Persian Ambassador to Turkey, for whom he had a high regard and whose reports on conditions in Turkey were most favourable to that country. There is no doubt that the Shah is still much concerned by the discrepancy between the amount of assistance which Turkey has received and is receiving from the Western Powers, and that which is available to Persia.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Angora, Bagdad and Kabul; to His Majesty's Ministers at Amman and Damascus; to the United Kingdom High Commissioner at Karachi and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.,

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

ASSASSINATION OF M. ABDUL HUSEIN HAZHIR

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th November)

(No. 392)
Sir,

Tehran,

11th November, 1949.

As already reported by telegram, the Minister of Court, M. Abdul Husein Hazhir, was shot by an individual named Sayyid Husein Imami while attending a religious service in connexion with Muharram at the Sipah Salar mosque in Tehran on the afternoon of 4th November. The assassin fired only one shot, which was seen to pierce M. Hazhir's left side. His weapon jammed but he attempted to strike his victim in the face with it before he was seized by the police. M. Hazhir was taken to hospital in a state of collapse. An X-ray photograph showed that the bullet had traversed the base of the left lung about an inch below the heart. Instead of conducting an immediate exploration, as would have been done in Europe, the surgeons contented themselves with giving M. Hazhir a blood transfusion, and such is the Persian's indifference to suffering that a stream of visitors was at his bedside until late at night. A slight improvement in his condition during the night was not maintained and, when it was finally decided to operate on the morning of 5th November, he died. He was given a State funeral on the following day and buried in the Shah Abdul Azim cemetery on the southern outskirts of the capital.

2. Immediately after the incident in the mosque, an announcement by the General Staff informed the public of what had happened. The name of the assassin was given and he was described as having a long police record. Martial law was proclaimed in Tehran and the suburbs from 6 p.m. on 4th November. General Khosravani being appointed military governor. No curfew was imposed. Further proclamations were issued banning religious meetings and processions, except in private houses where, however, no subjects other than religious were to be discussed, and reminding the public that, while there would be no interference with the press provided that the press law was observed, the appearance of any articles held to be prejudicial to the interests of the country would lead to the confiscation of the newspaper and the prosecution of the editor and the publisher in accordance with military law.

3. Between thirty and forty people were arrested within twenty-four hours of the assassination, twenty-two of them being released after questioning. Dr. Musaddiq, who was at the head of the poll in the Tehran Majlis elections, was "invited" to remain at his house in the country. Among those detained by the police were several other Opposition candidates including Baqa'i and Ha'irizadeh, as well as Azad, a vociferous Opposition member of the last Majlis, and Mustafa Kashani, son of Sayyid Abul Qasim Kashani who was exiled after the attempt on the life of the Shah last February. Another leading Opposition candidate, Makki, was called upon, in a public announcement, to present himself to the police, failing which the suspicions entertained against him would be aggravated, and he duly complied with the summons. Three journalists are also detained, including Bisharat, the editor of *Sidayi Vatan*, who was prosecuted after the attempt on the Shah's life for articles against the Court and acquitted.

4. The assassin was subjected to intensive questioning, both by the police and the special military government tribunal. Various reports of his confessions are circulating and it has been said but by no means confirmed that he directly implicated the above-mentioned Opposition candidates. It is also said that he claimed that his deed was no more than retribution for the "shooting at the Qur'an" in June 1948, for which M. Hazhir was held responsible. This report is likewise unconfirmed. Whether it is true or not, suspicion has undoubtedly been directed against Kashani who, as you will recall, was one of the bitterest opponents of Hazhir when the latter was Prime Minister and, in fact, organised the demonstration last year to which I have just referred. Kashani was also responsible for the agitation in favour of the pardon of Imami's brother when the latter was condemned for assassinating a certain Kasravi, a writer of pronounced anti-clerical views, in 1946. In Imami's confessions, as published by the authorities, there is no mention of any accomplices. The assassin is said to have stated that he considered Hazhir to be bad for the country and that he had been waiting for two months for a

suitable opportunity to kill him. This opportunity had presented itself in the Tehran mosque. There are, however, several indications that Imami's act was not only premeditated but that it may have been planned by a group. According to press accounts, which have been confirmed by eye witnesses, including the Pakistan ambassador, the lights inside the mosque were extinguished, on the pretext that the banners carried by the religious procession might otherwise interfere with the electric wiring. It was thus practically dark when Imami shot Hazhir. Moreover it seems that the police officer detailed to protect Hazhir was so badly mauled by some of the bystanders that he was taken to hospital in a critical condition. Another police officer, who sprang to Nazhir's assistance is reported to have been followed and beaten up by a gang of toughs on his way home.

5. On 7th November it was announced that although Husein Imami had been condemned to death his execution would be postponed for a few days so that further investigation could be carried out. On 9th November, however, it was announced that he had been hanged at 1.30 a.m. that morning. Several persons including some journalists were present and I am informed of good authority that he met his death with surprising fortitude, rallying his executioners on their evident distress and affirming that he was glad to die, in the assurance that he would go to Paradise.

6. It is not easy to speak with precision of the causes underlying this outrage. Imami, a small trader by profession, seems to have been one of those persons not un-

common in Persia, the main interest of whose lives is that obscure mixture of Islamic dogma and mysticism which can only be found in Shiahdom. It seems likely that he himself was actuated by a sincere and burning desire to take the life of one who, in his view, was not only the enemy of Islam (Hazhir was popularly believed to have been a Bahai) but had performed a specific act of sacrilege. There are, however, many persons who hated Hazhir for political or private reasons and who might have selected Imami as a suitable instrument. Since the assassination, as I have stated, it has been widely suggested that Imami was simply one of a band, that those who apprehended him after the crime were violently attacked by persons who seemed to be his accomplices, and that this act of terrorism will shortly be followed by others. It is true that a leaflet has appeared vowing vengeance on those responsible "if a hair of Imami's head were touched" and that several members of the Government are highly apprehensive. It is indeed possible that further acts of terrorism may take place but both they and the authors of the leaflet which threaten them might equally well be prompted by the widespread discontent with the Court and Government of which the murder of M. Hazhir is merely a symptom.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 14184/1015/34

No. 37

POLITICAL SITUATION IN PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 24th November)

(No. 400. Confidential)

(Light)

Sir,

Tehran,
18th November, 1949.

With the departure of the Shah for the United States, this country has entered on a new phase of the political crisis precipitated by the gross mismanagement of the general election. Although the cancellation of the poll in Tehran produced a per-

ceptible abatement of the extreme tension prevailing before and immediately after the assassination of M. Hazhir, the present outlook is by no means reassuring.

2. When taking leave of the distinguished company assembled at the airport to bid him farewell, the Shah looked ill and harassed, as well he might. When the 15th Majlis rose at the end of July there were

still high hopes in the country that it would have a more worthy successor. As a result of the constitutional reforms of the spring the Shah bore an increased responsibility for the outcome, and it has been a sad disillusionment. Before I left for England in August His Majesty spoke to me once again most earnestly about his desire that the election should be conducted without improper pressure from any side. There cannot be the slightest doubt of his sincerity, but I fear that he had set himself an impossible task. The Government was weak and incompetent. The Minister of Interior, Dr. Iqbal, whose loyalty and devotion were never in doubt, has proved himself even more devoid of political sense and administrative ability than his worst enemies could have hoped. As a result, the elections have been neither free nor competently controlled. There has, however, been much talk on all sides about their freedom and this has served only to whet the public appetite and to emphasise a lack of freedom which is traditional in this country. Public opinion, in so far as it exists, has of course reacted unfavourably. The Shah, who had promised a new deal, has failed to live up to his promise. Therefore, it is generally felt, he must be either a knave or a fool, or both. This is, of course, a heaven-sent opportunity for all adversaries of the Shah, his dynasty or his country, and they have not been slow to exploit it.

3. But it is not only among the uninformed public that the Shah's popularity has waned. Both in Government circles and among those elder statesmen who were prominent supporters of constitutional reform and the extension of the royal prerogative, feeling now varies between mild dismay and violent indignation at His Majesty's failure to make himself master in his own house. As you are aware, the Shah has one brother, Prince Ali Riza, and two sisters, Princess Shams, who is the eldest of the family, and Princess Ashraf, his twin. He has also a number of half-brothers and sisters, among whom the only personality worth mentioning is the American educated Prince Abdur Riza who, being the son of a Qajar princess, is debarred from the succession. The Shah is particularly devoted to Princess Ashraf who, unlike himself, appears to have inherited the strong will and other dynamic attributes of her autocratic father. She has a lively intelligence and strong personal feelings, as well as beauty and charm. Her affection

for her brother takes an intensely partisan form, which has set her at loggerheads with Prince Abdur Riza and most members of her family as well as with an increasing number of others who have had the ill-fortune to cross her path. The late Minister of Court, Abdul Husein Hazhir, was generally believed to have been entirely under her influence, and another prominent member of her private circle is Abul-Hasan Ibtihaj, the Director of the National Bank, whose wife is one of her Ladies-in-Waiting. Khustan Bidayat, the promoter of the ISKI trade unions, which now threaten to monopolise the union movement in Persia, is also under her spell. In fact, Her Highness's range of interests is very wide indeed and extends to almost every branch of national life. With the appointment of Hazhir, an admirable but strangely unpopular man, as Minister of Court, following as it did the reintegration in the Royal demesne of estates confiscated by Riza Shah, the feeling crystallised that it was her intention to persuade the Shah to follow in the footsteps of his father. The Shah is, however, eminently unsuited for such a rôle. Brave and gentle, public-spirited, conscientious and easily swayed, he is undermining his health in a vain attempt to carry on his own shoulders the entire burden of Government. In Hazhir he found an experienced administrator, well informed and entirely loyal, who was also conspicuously lacking in political sense and in the power of delegation. The effect of this appointment was therefore to pile Pelion on Ossa, to encourage the Princess in her misguided desire for personal power, and completely to sidetrack a Government which was already abject in its submission to the Royal will. Consequently, the assassination of Hazhir has removed an additional source of friction and misunderstanding, but the root of the trouble remains.

4. It is now two years since, with the rejection of the Soviet Oil Agreement, this country freed itself from the last serious impediment to its normal development arising out of the war and post-war periods. During that interval, which coincided roughly with the life of the 15th Majlis, the nation's affairs have been at a standstill. Until last February the Majlis itself, by its inertia, was chiefly to blame for this but the attempt on the life of the monarch gave a new turn to events. Within the space of four months the Shah was granted the increase in his prerogative for which

he had been pressing and, in the process, the Majlis was galvanized into some semblance of activity. But, as I have already explained, the high hopes thus engendered were soon to give way to a dangerous sense of frustration for which the Shah himself is now held personally responsible. This resentment is not, I fear, unjustified or indeed surprising. Even if an able and vigorous Government had been continuously in office since the autumn of 1947 it would have had an uphill task to overcome the obstruction of vested interests both in the Majlis and outside it. But a succession of weak Governments selected and sponsored by the Shah has virtually paralysed this primitive economy. In recent months the cost of living has risen steeply and unemployment is still rising, while hoarding, smuggling and racketeering of every kind are rife and the law has been brought into a degree of contempt that is remarkable even in Persia. Indeed were it not for the revenues derived from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the energy and ability of the Chief of the General Staff I have little doubt that, quite independently of the machinations of underground agencies, there would have been serious social disorder some months ago. Against this unpromising background the Seven-Year Plan has been taking definite shape but it cannot exist *in vacuo* and if authority declines much further there will soon be no basis for planning.

5. This dangerous situation cannot, but end badly, in my opinion, unless the Shah is prepared to accept and to support a strong and effective Government when he returns from America. At my last audience on 12th November His Majesty told me that he intended to ask Mohammed Sa'id to remain in office until he had secured the ratification of the supplemental oil agreement by the new Majlis, and to give way then to a younger and more active man. It seems that M. Sa'id has already agreed to this, and from what I know of him he will have done so gladly. But the selection of M. Sa'id's successor will be a vital

decision for the country, for the Shah and perhaps for his dynasty. In this country the Prime Minister is the Government; if he is strong the Government is strong, and *per contra*. Owing to the absence of any formed political parties there can be no coalitions and, as a rule, no two outstanding personalities will accept office in the same Cabinet. Strong personalities are even scarcer in Persia than in most other countries, but the Shah has so far set his face against entrusting any of them with the reins of Government. During the past twelve months I have on several occasions urged him to do so, but it has been borne in upon me that His Majesty would not consent to this until he was on the brink of the abyss. In my opinion he is nearing that point now, but I hope and believe that when he returns to Persia it will still be possible to persuade him to abandon his attempt to govern the country himself, and to convince him that the risk of a strong Prime Minister monopolising power is as nothing to that inherent in the present trend.

6. As I have said, the choice of suitable men is very limited indeed. Qavam-es-Sultaneh is now back from abroad. He is no younger and is said to be seriously ill of his old complaint, but however that may be and even if the Shah were prepared for a reconciliation (which would surprise me greatly) for the reasons given in my despatch No. 406 of 20th December, 1948 I should still view Qavam's return to power with strong misgiving. More likely candidates are Ali Mansur and Sayyid Zia-ud-Din. I do not, however, intend to discuss these or other personalities in the present despatch. My main purpose here is to emphasise the importance which I attach to the underlying principle and the gravity of the consequences which I foresee if it is ignored much longer.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the head of the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

CHAPTER II.—MONTHLY REPORTS

E 864/1013/34

No. 35

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR DECEMBER 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 17th January)

(No. 7)
Sir,

Tehran,
9th January, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 393 of 7th December, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during the month of December 1948. As regards internal politics, the Sa'ed Government gradually strengthened its position and obtained two votes of confidence. There was some improvement in the food situation. In foreign affairs there were no major developments.

Foreign Relations

2. Conversations were resumed between the Persian Government and the Soviet Embassy for a Commercial Agreement to increase mutual trade. Negotiations on this subject had been carried on last summer but reached a standstill in August when the Soviet ambassador returned to the U.S.S.R. on leave. He appears to have returned with instructions to resume them, and several conversations have taken place between him and the head of the Soviet Trade Delegation on the one hand and the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Persian officials on the other. It is now reported that the objective is a "barter" arrangement under which the U.S.S.R. would supply mainly materials required by the Persian railways and would take in return chiefly foodstuffs, such as rice, dried fruits and cooking fats. Soviet wireless propaganda continued to be active, particularly that directed to Azerbaijan, and much was made for propaganda purposes of the establishment of the so-called Independent Kurdish Republic at Erivan on Soviet territory. The Moscow and Baku wireless transmitters kept up their attacks on American activities in Persia, in particular those of the American service missions, and on American assistance in connexion with the Seven-Year Plan, which was described as a plan to complete the economic enslavement of the country. The Persian general staff issued a broadcast denial on 13th December of allegations that armaments had already been delivered from the United States in order to make Persia into a base for aggression against the U.S.S.R.: they pointed out that the

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arms deliveries contract was an ordinary open commercial deal, that the arms to be delivered were purely defensive and that none of the material would arrive in Persia until mid-January. A further statement was issued by Radio Tehran on 25th December, denying the allegation that the Americans were building military airfields in Persia under the Seven-Year Plan: it said that Persia had at present only four all-weather landing grounds, that none were being constructed at present, but that it was natural that some of the existing aerodromes used for civil aviation should be improved under the plan.

3. The American ambassador, Mr. Wiley, was on leave in and travelling to the United States throughout the month. The former ambassador, Mr. George Allen, who had attended the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference at Beirut as principal United States representative, arrived in Tehran on 12th December for a two-day visit, in the course of which he was received in audience by the Shah, and made a statement to the press denying that his visit had any particular political significance. On his arrival in the United States, Mr. Wiley also made a statement to the press calling attention to the need of American assistance to Persia and expressing his conviction of the integrity of the Shah's motives in wishing to advance the development of the country; this was seized upon by the opponents of the Court, who complained again of American intervention in Persian internal affairs.

4. The Shah's gift to King Ibn Saud at the time of the visit of Persian pilgrims to Mecca (see my despatch No. 331) was reciprocated by the despatch of a special Saudi-Arabian emissary to bring the Shah messages of friendship from King Ibn Saud and a present of three Arab horses and certain objects of religious interest. Relations with other neighbouring Moslem countries developed normally, though agitation in the Majlis and press asserting Persian rights to Bahrein and other Persian Gulf islands continued as before. Considerable publicity was given to the visit to Tehran, on his return from the U.N.E.S.C.O. meeting, of Habibullah

Khan, the Afghan Minister of Education and in a statement to the press on 29th December M. Sa'ed said he had hoped for an early solution of the Helmand River dispute. Publicity was also given to the visit to Tehran of Ghazi Zafireddin Ahmad, described as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Azad Kashmir, who was freely entertained in that capacity by Persian sympathisers. The Indian and Pakistan ambassadors were both absent from Persia during the month.

5. Some interest was aroused by events in Indonesia and by the assassination of Nokraschy Pasha. Sympathy with the Indonesian republicans was expressed both in the Majlis and the press, and the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs both sent messages of condolence to the Egyptian Government and to Mme. Nokraschy. Communist successes in China were exploited by Left-wing propaganda to point the moral about the fate of a country which had hitherto been in the hands of a capitalist ruling class. For the Persian public as a whole, however, all these distant events were followed with detachment compared with the more pressing needs of everyday life and with the more intriguing details of Persian politics.

Internal Affairs

6. The Sa'ed Government, whose position at the beginning of the month appeared most unsteady, became more firmly established as a consequence of increased support both from the Shah and within the Majlis. The vote of confidence on the Government's programme was taken on 8th December and resulted in a vote of fifty-six to one, with thirty-seven abstentions. A draft resolution altering the Majlis house rules, in order to prevent Deputies from adopting filibustering tactics and from postponing the business of the House indefinitely by withholding the quorum, was tabled on 8th December under a procedure of urgency; though it was never voted, the fact that it was laid before the House seems to have had a beneficial effect and members showed more sense of responsibility during the rest of the month. The Cabinet was reorganised on 12th December, appointments being made to ministerial posts which had hitherto been vacant, with the exceptions of the Ministries of Justice and of the Interior: the latter remains in the hands of the Prime Minister.

7. Behind the scene in the Majlis, the trial of strength continued between the supporters and opponents of Qavam-us-Salteneh. The former had first refused to vote supplies to the Government unless the Government first undertook to obtain Qavam's acquittal from the charges which had been made against him. Prolonged lobbying resulted in a bargain and a signed agreement whereby the former agreed to vote funds for the payment of salaries for the remaining four months of the Persian year, provided the Qavam case were put next on the agenda of the House; this resulted in a vote on 28th December of ninety to one in favour of the Government authorising the four months' budget. On the following day the Prime Minister held a press conference, at which he drew attention to the action already taken by the Government and to his policy for the next few months; this statement which was well received, was taken to mean that the Government was at last reasonably well established.

8. The food situation improved during the month, to some extent as a result of Government measures to reduce hoarding and to correct maldistribution, e.g., by consignments of grain from the surplus in the neighbourhood of Arak (Sultanabad) to Khuzistan which is the worst deficit area this year. Hoarders have also released grain in view of the improved prospects for next year's harvest owing to rain and copious snowfalls. The latter interrupted road communications throughout northern and north-western Persia during the last week of the month.

9. The Government has reaffirmed its intention to carry out the Seven-Year Plan, and M. Sa'ed has said that his chief motive for doing so was in order thereby to reduce the inequality of incomes and economic distress. The draft contract for the engagement of experts during the second phase through Overseas Consultants Incorporated was approved by the Cabinet towards the end of December, subject to a few minor modifications to be negotiated by the Persian Embassy in Washington.

10. A press campaign against the Imperial Bank of Iran developed towards the end of the month when in view of the impending expiry of its concession on 31st January the bank's future position came up for consideration by the Cabinet: M. Ebtahaj, governor of the Bank Melli, sought to use the occasion to have conditions imposed which would cripple the

operations of the Imperial Bank in this country. The outcome is still uncertain.

11. The Labour Law has now been finally accepted by the Majlis Committee and it remains for the full Majlis to be invited to accept the committee's work and formally approve the law. The Prime Minister and the Minister without Portfolio, who is nominally in charge of the Ministry of Labour, show every determination to place the Labour Law high on the Majlis agenda.

12. The E.S.K.I. Trade Union under the leadership of Khosrow Hedayat has shown little sign of activity since the termination in November of its annual general congress. On the other hand, Aziz Gezelbash, the former rival within E.S.K.I. of Hedayat who was dismissed from the organisation at the congress, has been actively recruiting support for his independent union. Much publicity was given to the inauguration on 3rd December of a new trade union under the name of "The Reformers Group of the Central United Council" which claimed to have 60,000 members. Although this union pretends to be a secessionist movement from the Tudeh organisation it seems in fact to be entirely artificial, supported by the general staff and possibly intended as a weapon for the forthcoming elections. The Tudeh Trade Union showed few signs of open activity during December.

The Provinces

13. The celebration of the anniversary of the liberation of Azerbaijan on 12th December, 1946, was an occasion for genuine rejoicing at Tabriz. It was marked by military reviews throughout the country. There are some slight signs of

trade recovery in Azerbaijan, particularly in the carpet trade, and exports of raisins to the Soviet Union have been resumed though hitherto on a small scale. The governor-general is also reported to have ordered a detailed study of the possibility of developing export routes from Azerbaijan by Trebizond and Alexandretta. Soviet propaganda, however, continues to give rise to some apprehension as do the activities of the returned deportees of Soviet sympathies, who have settled again in Azerbaijan after their release from camps in South-West Persia and appear to be receiving subsidies from Soviet sources.

14. The rain and snow caused considerable floods in the Isfahan area and a number of villages were destroyed. The casualties were given as twenty-one deaths and a number missing while 2,500 people were rendered homeless. Relief action has been taken both by the Persian "Red Lion and Sun" Organisation and by the Government, which voted a 400,000 rial credit and arranged for the despatch and distribution in the affected area of 100 tons of flour. The Shah also made a personal donation of 250,000 rials for relief purposes.

15. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief East Indies and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi, and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 2108/1013/34

No. 39

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR JANUARY 1949

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Beein (Received 14th February)

(No. 48)

Tehran,

Sir,

7th February, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 7 of 9th January, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during the month of January. There were no developments affecting Persian/Soviet relations. The attention of the public was,

however, increasingly drawn to Anglo-Persian relations by activity and talk both in the Majlis and in the press about the resumption of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company negotiations and about the expiry on 31st January of the Concession of the Imperial Bank of Iran. There were no outstanding developments in internal

politics. A wave of extremely cold weather interrupted communications and caused some distress, especially in Northern Persia.

Foreign Relations

2. Attention was directed to the affairs of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company by a passage in an interview granted by the Prime Minister to Reuter's correspondent on 11th January in the course of which he said that the Government intended to ensure the strict compliance with certain clauses of the Concession and to safeguard Persia's interests. He demanded an equitable return from the resources of the country whatever the conditions in which they were utilised by the company. This statement was taken up by the Majlis Deputy, Abbas Iskandari, in an interpellation lodged on 13th January, who objected to the implication that the Government accepted the Concession as it stood and to the fact that no protests had been made at the construction of refineries by the company outside Persia. In the course of a long speech which began on 20th January he proceeded to attack the Company and demand the revision of the Concession. He was answered by M. Taqizadeh, who appealed for moderation and pointed out that the violent tactics of Reza Shah in cancelling the previous Concession in 1933 outright had largely hampered subsequent negotiations for the renewal of the Concession. Some confusion was caused by the publication in the press on 14th January of a statement, unsigned but generally believed to be an official leakage, suggesting that the renewal of negotiations was due to a somewhat peremptory summons by the Persian Government to the Company to send out negotiators immediately. The Minister of Finance, who had in fact received a letter from the company on 11th January expressing its readiness to resume negotiations under certain circumstances, issued an official statement on 18th January which referred to the letter in question though it did not make it clear that the initiative for the resumption had been taken by the company. The company's negotiators are expected to arrive in Tehran to resume conversations early in February.

3. The agitation against the Imperial Bank referred to in paragraph 10 of my despatch under reference was considerably increased during the month at the instigation of M. Ebtehaj, Governor of the Bank Melli. In spite of a statement by the Prime Minister in his interview with Reuters

that the bank would be allowed to continue its activities in Persia as a private enterprise under current legislation after expiry of its Concession, the Minister of Finance informed the bank on 25th January that unless a satisfactory working arrangement about relations between it and the Bank Melli were reached before 31st January it would not be allowed to continue operation. This was backed up by further press attacks and by a letter addressed to the Majlis on 25th January by M. Haerizadeh and a number of other deputies and others demanding that the Concession should not be renewed and that the bank should not continue operation. The bank is registered in Persia and is free to operate as an ordinary enterprise, the Concession itself amounting to little more than a basis for tax exemption. By the end of the month the matter was still unsettled, though M. Ebtehaj had informed the manager of the bank of the requirements which he, as Governor of the Central Bank, considered the Imperial Bank should fulfil in order to continue operation.

4. Soviet propaganda continued to make unfounded allegations about American airfield construction in Persia, which led to yet another denial on the Persian side. The first shipment of American war material which was expected to arrive in the Persian Gulf during the month was delayed and the ship with this cargo on board is expected at Bander Shahpur in the first week of February.

5. M. Nuri Isfandiari, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, has proceeded to Delhi on his appointment as Persian Ambassador to India and has presented his Letters of Credence. He represented his country at the conference called by Pandit Nehru to discuss the Indonesian question. Before his departure the present Minister, M. Hekmat, made a speech in the Majlis on 22nd January expressing Persian sympathy with the cause of the Indonesian Republic.

6. M. Abdul Hussein Sadiq Isfandiari, formerly Consul-General at Jerusalem, has been appointed Persian Minister to Saudi Arabia.

Internal Affairs

7. Further progress has been made with the Seven-Year Plan, and in the interview to which I have already referred the Prime Minister again gave pride of place to the Plan, which he said was the chief goal of the Government's policy, as a means of banishing unemployment and improving

the lot of the peasants. Though there was some delay in the actual signature of their contract, experts from Overseas Consultants Incorporated comprising the first group of those engaged on the second phase (a detailed study and examination of the possibilities of the Plan) arrived in Tehran on 24th January and will be followed by further parties at weekly intervals. The British firm of consulting engineers Alexander Gibb & Partners are now associated with Overseas Consultants Incorporated for the present phase of the plan.

8. The time of the Majlis was largely taken up in the early part of the month with the detailed examination of the budget, of the Ministry of War. The main part of this budget, providing a credit representing the difference of expenditure in the year ending March 1948 and that ending March 1949, was approved by eighty-one votes out of eighty-eight on 9th January. The further proposal to vote £2,000,000 sterling to purchase small arms ammunition in Belgium, which was the target of considerable criticism, was debated separately and approved in the Majlis Budget Commission at the end of the month. Other subsidiary votes connected with the main budget for the year ending March 1949 were also approved in the Majlis Budget Commission, though they have not yet gone before the Chamber. Proceedings in the Majlis and the execution of the Government's programme were slowed down by the bargain referred to in my despatch under reference whereby the Government had agreed to put Qavam's case on the agenda before proceeding with further work, and also by the illness of the Prime Minister who for some days was unable to attend to public business. On 31st January it was reported in the press that Qavam was about to leave for Paris to continue the course of medical treatment he had begun there last year.

9. The cold weather which continued throughout the first three weeks of January resulted in a dislocation of communications and in considerable suffering of the population. In the southern part of Tehran, which is the poorest quarter and where the buildings are mostly of old mud construction, unsuited to withstand snow and ice, a number of people were rendered homeless and there were some accidents such as the collapse of a bath establishment which resulted in seven deaths and a number of casualties. Relief measures were taken by the Government and the quarter affected was visited by the Prime Minister and by

members of the Royal Family. Relief funds were voted and provision made by the Ecclesiastical authorities for the heating of mosques in order to provide emergency accommodation for the homeless. The snow and rain throughout the country improved harvest prospects for next year, and the food situation improved correspondingly.

10. M. Ebtehaj, the Governor of the Bank Melli Iran advanced a step further towards his goal of a reduced and stabilised rate of exchange for commercial imports and exports when the Council of Ministers on 10th January, 1949 approved two decrees modifying the exchange regulations issued between July and September, 1948. One decree authorises the Bank Melli Iran to sell Government exchange (including sterling obtained from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company), the profit on such operations to be used by the Ministry of Finance for the reduction of taxes on cotton piece-goods, sugar, tea, kerosene and petrol in order to lower the cost of living. The second decree limits the use of foreign exchange purchased at the official rate to Government imports only: private importers will have to use the free market for the major part of their foreign exchange requirements. The intention is that, ultimately, all foreign exchange needed by private importers will be purchased at the free market rate, which will be appreciably reduced. The new decrees aroused a storm of protests among merchants, but it is doubtful whether they will be substantially modified.

11. The Labour Law has successfully passed its committee stage in the Majlis and a favourable moment is now awaited for submitting the committee's recommendation to the full Majlis for approval.

The Provinces

12. The month was on the whole uneventful in Azerbaijan: measures have been taken to deal with increasing employment and the bread situation has improved as a consequence of action by the authorities to make a better adjustment of supplies issued to bakeries. The cold weather has interfered with communications and caused the closing of schools. Soviet propaganda has been actively attacking the Governor-General for his anti-Soviet attitude and the Soviet Embassy in Tehran is reported to have requested his removal.

13. There are some indications of increased Tudeh activity in Khuzistan. A one-day strike took place in December in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's marine

workshops at Abadan and it is feared that there may be further strikes and industrial trouble this year. Mohammedi the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company worker who attended the International Labour Organisation Petrol Committee Meeting at Geneva has recently visited Tehran to present grievances of Abadan workers to the Ministry of Labour; they claim that the customary procedure for settling grievances was being obstructed, that the current rate of real wages is inadequate owing to the increased cost of living and that there have been unjustified dismissals; it is not clear how far Mohammedi's mission was undertaken on Tudeh orders. A number of Tudeh leaders are reported to have paid surreptitious visits to Abadan recently, and suspicious characters have been arriving at Ahwaz from the North.

14. Early in January there was a one-day strike of approximately 10,000 textile workers in Isfahan owing to the employers' refusal to observe the traditional practice of giving every worker a sum of money ostensibly for the purchase of winter clothing. Large stocks of cloth, for which a market cannot readily be found, are held in most factories and the employers proposed giving this, instead of money, to the workers. Many workers normally use the annual money grant to meet more pressing needs than clothing (e.g. winter fuel) and the dispute was only settled when the employers agreed not only to give cloth but also a sum of money "to pay the tailor". There is no suggestion that this dispute was in any way inspired by the Tudeh organisation or had a political motive. The Pashmbaf Wool Spinning and Weaving Factory (1,300 workers) which, for many months, has been complaining of inability to withstand foreign competition finally closed down on 27th January; other textile factories in Isfahan are threatening to follow suit.

15. Work on the construction of the Isfahan power plant buildings is progressing, but the work on the other British undertaking, the Kuhrang irrigation tunnel, has been hampered by the heavy snow which has cut off communications between the site and Isfahan. There has been some unrest in the Chahar Mahal district and complaints made against the activities of the Bakhtiari Governor: investigations by the Governor-General of Isfahan, how-

ever, have cleared up this matter, though the Governor-General himself has now been replaced.

16. Conditions in tribal areas generally are quiet and good relations continue to exist between the Qashgais and the military authorities. Conversations on disarmament have been held at Ahwaz between the Kohgali chiefs and the military authorities but apparently without much progress being made. The Boir-Ahmadi have given the Oil Company an undertaking that their tribesmen will not interfere with Company property.

17. There has been a deterioration in public security in the Shiraz area during the last two months; there have been a number of cases of cars and lorries being held up by bandits and there was an attempt on the life of the Director of Education at Shiraz. A minor battle also occurred in the Bushire area between a band of smugglers and coastguards, resulting in the death of four coastguards. A smuggling scandal involving large sums has also come to light in Khuzistan and a commission from the Ministry of Justice has been carrying out investigations.

18. The food situation in North-East Persia has improved recently, partly as a consequence of rains having led to the release of hoarded stocks and partly because the military authorities at Meshed took over the control of grain collection in December, having obtained the temporary supercession of the acting Governor-General. (A new Governor-General has now been appointed.) The employment situation at Meshed has deteriorated as a result of the cold weather and the dismissal of a number of men employed on the upkeep of the shrine lands, the company in charge of which has now been wound up.

19. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief East Indies and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi, and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR FEBRUARY 1949

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 14th March)

(No. 85)

Sir,

Tehran,

1st March, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 48 of 7th February last, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during February 1949. The scene was dominated by the attempt on the Shah's life, by subsequent measures taken to ensure public security and by preparations for the launching of the Shah's scheme for constitutional reform. There were no outstanding developments in Persia's foreign relations. Negotiations began both with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company regarding the interpretation of the concession and with the British Bank in Persia regarding its future conditions of operation.

2. Evidence which has now come to light leaves little room for doubt that the attempt on the Shah's life on 4th February was intended to be the signal for the instigation of widespread social disorder. The Tudeh Party in Tehran had on that day made various preparations and had assembled its most active members, many of whom were armed, under the pretext of an anniversary celebration at a cemetery on the outskirts of the capital. Tudeh newspapers had prepared special editions for the following day and the knowledge that great events were impending was wide-spread. In particular there was fore-knowledge of such events among Tudeh employees at the Kerej sugar factory and among other Tudeh members in the town of Mianeh, whence arms had recently been sent by lorry to Tehran. It is also thought that preparation had been made by Russian agents among the Javaurudi Kurds, and Left-wing sympathisers at Kermanshah were also in expectation of events on 4th February.

3. The attack on the Shah was followed by the immediate suppression of the Tudeh Party and by the establishment of martial law in the capital. Both these measures were submitted to the Majlis, and immediately approved. Subsequently, action was taken giving the military authorities in other parts of the country discretionary powers to introduce martial law should the situation require it, and on 26th February

martial law was extended to all provincial towns where there were military garrisons of divisional or brigade strength, and to certain other towns on the Caspian coast and to Daragaz in Northern Khorassan, and Hamadan and Malayer. A number of arrests of Tudeh sympathisers has already taken place in Tehran and the provinces, but no sentences have yet been passed. On the whole these measures were remarkable for a moderation which is thought to be due to the Shah's personal intervention.

4. Among the persons arrested were a number of newspaper editors who had been publishing scurrilous attacks on the Shah and on the Court in recent months and their papers were suspended: several of them have now been condemned to periods of one to five years' imprisonment, but have appealed and are being retried. A press law was introduced in the Majlis on 8th February laying down the penalty of immediate arrest and summary trial of the editor of any paper which indulged in attacks on the Shah, the Royal Family, Islamic institutions, the Heads of Foreign States, and on ministers, Government officials or the Majlis, or inciting to sedition; this measure, however, which was felt by many to go too far in extending immunity from criticism to the Government and to the Deputies, gave rise to much opposition and by the end of the month had not yet been passed.

5. The events of 4th February shook the Majlis out of the lethargy which has possessed it for the last few months, and the departure for Paris a few days later of Qavam-us-Saltaneh removed a further source of obstruction. The Chamber, therefore, confounded its critics by immediately approving the decrees issued on 5th February and by passing, on 15th February, the Enabling Bill for the Seven-Year Plan, which can now go forward into a more active phase although it suffered a slight check earlier in the month owing to the resignation of Dr. Nafiei. The Majlis insisted, when passing the Bill, on imposing certain limitations (of salaries, &c.) which may hamper future work.

6. The imperial firman ordering the preparation of the elections for the

16th Legislature was issued on the due date of 25th February (exactly five months before the expiry of the term of the 15th Majlis). Meanwhile, the Shah's determination to improve the machinery of government by measures of constitutional reform had hardened. After consultation with leading statesmen he called a meeting of the party leaders on 25th February and told them of his decision that a Constituent Assembly should be convened to discuss—

- (a) the revision and completion of article 48 of the Constitution dealing with the procedure for dissolving the Majlis;
- (b) the drafting of a new article determining the procedure to be adopted for amending the Constitution and Supplementary Laws;
- (c) revision of article 44 of the Constitution to provide for the creation of the Senate if, by the time the Assembly is convened, the Majlis has not yet passed the Senate Bill.

Two days later the President of the Majlis informed the Shah that he had received letters signed by members of all the fractions supporting His Majesty's decision, and on the following day, 28th February, the Prime Minister communicated to the Majlis the text of the decree convoking the Constituent Assembly. Before deciding on this important step the Shah informed both His Majesty's Government and the United States Government of his intention.

Foreign Relations

7. No notable developments in Soviet-Persian relations occurred during the month. The Russians were slow to react to the suppression of the Tudeh Party, but after a few days' pause Moscow wireless started up with a new campaign of abuse against the Persian Government, whom it accused of taking reactionary measures against a party which had no connexion whatever with the attempt on the Shah's life. These allegations were indignantly rebutted by the Persian press and radio, which accused Moscow of needlessly antagonising Persian feeling. There is no direct evidence of Soviet connivance in the attempted assassination, but several leading personalities in the Tudeh Party are believed to have taken refuge in the Soviet Embassy. The head of the gendarmerie at Tabriz has also told His Majesty's Consul-

General that he had certain knowledge of a plot to kill senior army officers and of preparations for "Azerbaijan Democrat" forces to cross the frontier from the Soviet Union had the attempt been successful.

8. On 12th February the Soviet Ambassador protested to the Persian Government against the quotation in the Majlis by the Acting Minister of the Interior on 5th February of an extract from the diary of Fakhr Aral, the Shah's assailant, in which he said that he was an adherent of the Tudeh Party and that he realised that the party served the interests of the Soviet Union. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, however, replied that Dr. Eghbal had merely quoted a piece of factual evidence to give the Majlis a better appreciation of events, and that his action could not be regarded as an expression of the Government's views.

9. The military equipment which is being sent from the United States and Western Germany under the American arms credits began to arrive according to plan, the first ship having berthed at Bander Shahpur on 4th February. Unloading of this ship and of two subsequent ships proceeded at the planned rate in the course of the month. 10,000 tons of flour out of a total of 40,000 tons of wheat (in grain and flour) which is being sent from the United States and Australia to help stabilise the food situation by providing the Government with a reserve from which to ensure the maintenance of bread supplies, arrived at the southern ports at the end of the month. The representatives of Overseas Consultants, Incorporated, who are preparing a detailed survey of Persian resources (phase 2 of the preparations for the Seven-Year Plan) have begun work in Persia; this phase is expected to last for at least four months, during which about forty experts in all will have come to the country from the United States and the United Kingdom.

10. Conversations began on the two major questions affecting Anglo-Persian relations: the modifications sought on the Persian side in the interpretation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company concession, and the terms under which the British Bank in Iran will operate now that its concession has expired. The negotiations with the oil company were begun with Mr. Gass on 13th February and are still proceeding. The discussions between Mr. Ebtehaj, Governor of the Bank Melli, and

Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, on behalf of the Board of the British Bank, began on 19th February.

Labour Conditions, Industry and Agriculture

11. Towards the end of February the Minister of Agriculture presented to the Majlis a decree proposing the establishment of co-operative societies for the purchase of implements and seeds and for marketing produce, an increase in the number of schools, hospitals and dispensaries in rural areas and the inauguration of an insurance scheme against loss of crops or livestock. The decree is now being studied by a Parliamentary Committee prior to formal presentation to the full Majlis.

12. In the trade union sphere, the Central United Council (Tudeh) has been suppressed and many of its leaders imprisoned. There has been no marked reaction on the part of the rank and file membership. The Government-sponsored E.S.K.I. organisation is jubilant at the disappearance from the scene of its Tudeh rivals, but seems incapable of using this favourable occasion for positive action. The smaller independent organisations (e.g., the trade union group under Gezelbash, which recently broke away from E.S.K.I.), which were until recently regarded as having some use as anti-Tudeh rallying points and permitted to continue, are now in some danger of being forced out of existence owing to the jealousy of Hedayat, the head of E.S.K.I., and owing to the fact that many of their members, being ex-Tudeh, are liable to be exposed to suspicion.

13. The industrial position at Isfahan became increasingly critical during February, a second large factory giving notice of intention to close at an early date. Pleas of inability to continue to function economically in the face of competition from foreign piece-goods were initially confined to the woollen section of the Isfahan industry, but the cotton sections is now claiming that its situation is even more desperate. The Prime Minister's provisional decision is believed to be that loans shall be made to Isfahan factories which prove distress, that the condition for loan shall be close supervision by the Government of technical management and of expenditures, and that the advisability of imposing protective tariffs will be con-

sidered. The Minister of National Economy, the Director of the Industrial and Mining Bank and the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Labour have been sent by the Prime Minister to Isfahan to determine the extent to which these proposed remedies would meet present difficulties. Mr. Huber of Overseas Consultants has also been investigating the situation of the Isfahan textile industry with a view to making recommendations for assistance under the Seven-Year Plan.

14. In Abadan earlier rumours of incipient unrest among the workers crystallised during February into complaints about high bazaar prices, poor quality of clothing provided by the company and dissatisfaction with the charges levied by the company for transport to and from employment. These complaints were steered through the existing industrial relations machinery and the workers were encouraged to make firm proposals. Towards the end of the month it was announced, through the joint negotiating machinery, that as from 1st March a transport allowance of 2 rials per day would be given to all workers. Measures for remedying the other grievances are being studied. This action, together with the arrest during February of eleven Tudeh leaders in Abadan, appears to have given the company sufficient breathing space to develop its current programmes of extensive social improvement.

15. Rainfall for the winter has been normal in most parts of the country and harvest prospects for 1949 are satisfactory. On the other hand, the extreme cold has caused great damage to citrus fruit crops in Fars and on the Caspian coast. All movement of rice has been prohibited in Gilan and prices have dropped in consequence. The bread situation in the provinces, and particularly at Isfahan, is uneasy owing to the small reserves left in the silos; at Tabriz the blockage of the roads by snow has given rise to the danger of the reserves of fuel oil and kerosene becoming exhausted, which would make it necessary to restrict the operation of the bakeries.

16. There have been attacks by bandits on road transport in the Kermanshah district and near Borazjan on the Shiraz-Bushire road. There has also been a case of suspected arson at Hamadan, where the post office was burned down.

17. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-chief, East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the United

Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo, and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 7083/1013/34

No. 41

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR MAY 1949

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th June)

(No. 208)

Sir,

Tehran,
7th June, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 174 of 8th May, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during the month of May 1949. The Constituent Assembly passed the Shah's proposals for constitutional reform and has been dissolved; the Majlis approved the Senate Bill, referred the new electoral law to a commission and adopted new House rules to restrict absenteeism and obstruction. No agreement was reached in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company negotiations. There have been no major developments in foreign affairs.

Foreign Relations

2. The slight relaxation in tension in Soviet-Persian relations which occurred in April has been followed by a period of deadlock. The Soviet Ambassador is still in Moscow and there is no news of his return, while the new Persian Ambassador has not yet proceeded to his post. The Soviet offer to resume trade negotiations has been withdrawn and the Soviet chargé d'affaires has repeated M. Sadchikov's former statement that an improvement in economic relations must be preceded by an improvement in political relations. The question of the Soviet consulates has now been settled: all Soviet consulates in Persia and the sole Persian consulate in the U.S.S.R. at Baku are to be withdrawn.

3. A further frontier incident occurred near Ardebil on 8th May, when a Soviet patrol opened fire on a Persian patrol which had inadvertently crossed into Soviet territory in bad visibility. No particular importance is attached to this incident. His Majesty's Consul-General reports that there has been activity by Soviet air patrols on the Azerbaijan fron-

tier; after a brief interval, Russian wireless transmissions have resumed their torrent of abuse of Persia, and a further sign of friction was the complaint by the Prime Minister's Parliamentary Under-Secretary about an article in *Pravda* attacking the Tudeh trials. On 16th May he summoned all foreign newspaper correspondents and asked whether *Pravda* had a correspondent in Tehran. On being informed by the Russian press attaché that there was no *Pravda* correspondent there the Under-Secretary said that in future all foreign press correspondents in Persia must have official credentials and any unauthorised correspondent discovered reporting false news items would be expelled.

4. After remaining in Tehran for about a fortnight and explaining to the Persian Government the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's latest offer, Sir William Fraser returned to London on 12th May without having reached any agreement. The oil company have, in fact, offered the Persian Government terms which, on the basis of 1948 production, would in future ensure a minimum annual payment of about £15 million compared with actual payments of about £7 million and £9 million in 1947 and 1948 respectively. The Minister of Finance, however, has shown continued reluctance to sign an agreement even on these terms, due largely to his own fear of taking the responsibility for a decision which may later be criticised. The point on which the negotiations have broken down is the figure of the guaranteed minimum of aggregate annual payments. The company are prepared, as already stated, to guarantee about £15 million and the Government are insisting that payments should not in future drop below the current level of £18.75 million.

5. The Shah opened on 11th May a new Tehran School of Nursing built by Princess Ashraf's Social Services Organisation and equipped at the expense of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, who also provided eight British nurses as teachers.

6. The Minister for Foreign Affairs announced on 15th May that a commercial agreement has been concluded between the Persian and French Governments, but the text of the agreement has not yet been published and the French Embassy have no official knowledge even of its signature. An agreement has also been concluded for an exchange of goods (chiefly dried fruits against German chemicals and machinery) with Western Germany, and negotiations are proceeding with Italy for a payments agreement regarding current trade. A Persian Government delegation is shortly to visit Turkey to investigate the possibilities of increasing the transit trade through Turkey, with particular reference to the use of the port of Trebizond for exports from Azerbaijan. Agreement on the text of a bi-lateral civil aviation convention has been reached between a Persian and a Netherlands delegation, though signature must await Persia's adherence to the Chicago International Air Convention, which has not yet been passed by the Majlis.

7. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, spent several days in Tehran from 14th May on his return from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. His visit was made the occasion for a demonstration of the friendly feelings of the Persian Government towards Pakistan; Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was received in audience by the Shah, accompanied His Majesty to a sports meeting at the Military Academy and was the guest of honour at several banquets and receptions given by the Persian Government. Just after his visit renewed interest was also directed to the affairs of Afghanistan by the passage through Tehran on his way to London of the Afghan Ambassador, Sardar Faiz Muhammad Khan, who took the opportunity to issue a press statement ventilating Afghanistan's grievances against Pakistan in the matter of the north-west frontier tribes. This statement called forth a sharp rejoinder from the Pakistan Ambassador. Faiz Muhammad Khan also made an unsuccessful attempt to reach provisional agreement with the Persian Government in the matter of the Helmand River

dispute; as he stated later in a newspaper interview, his renewed suggestion to the Persian Government that a mixed commission should visit Sistan to calculate the amount of water required for irrigation there which the Afghan Government would subsequently guarantee (as a percentage of the total flow of the Helmand) was rejected by the Persians, who maintained their attitude that the question could best be settled by international mediation.

Internal Situation

8. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved on 10th May after approving the draft of two new articles of the Constitution. One of these, a revision of article 48, gives the Shah the right to dissolve either or both Chambers provided that the reasons for dissolution are stated and a date appointed, within one month, for the holding of elections for the new Chamber, which must assemble within three months of dissolution. The other article lays down the procedure for future amendments of the Constitution by the convention of a Constituent Assembly on a vote to that effect being passed by a two-thirds majority in each of the two Houses, and confirmed by the Shah. These parts of the Constitution relating to the institution of monarchy and the establishment of Islam (in the Shiah rite) as the official religion of the State will, however, remain immutable. The same article also laid it down that the 16th Majlis and Senate will themselves decide, in joint session, certain other matters such as the revision of the laws determining size and duration of each legislature, the quorum rule and the article of the Constitution which limits the power of the Shah to prevent the enforcement of Majlis decisions. After the conclusion of the Assembly's labours its members were received by the Shah who took the oath to the new constitution as now amended and delivered an extempore speech announcing that a campaign should now be opened against corruption in public life and that measures should be taken to bring about a greater degree of decentralisation in the country, particularly in the field of municipal and technical administration.

9. The Majlis passed on 4th May the Bill establishing the Senate and laying down the procedure for its election. The Bill establishing the Senate and laying the Senate to be limited to Muslims; this has led to much discussion and has been

represented as unfair discrimination against Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians who are guaranteed full rights under the original Constitution. At the end of the month a further motion was prepared expunging this restriction from the Senate law. The Majlis also discussed and referred to a commission the Bill modifying electoral procedure. One point of this Bill in particular has been the target of criticism, as it introduces an indirect literacy qualification for voters by insisting that votes should be recorded in writing on special papers issued in the polling station at the time of registering the vote. There has been considerable discussion of the pros and cons for this proposal, and it is not expected that the electoral procedure Bill will become law until after the completion of the elections of the 16th Majlis this summer. In order, however, to eliminate any possibility of this an amendment has been introduced stipulating the issue to all electors of special "electoral cards." These will take many months to produce. The Majlis has also revised its House rules so as to provide for firmer control of its methods of conducting business by penalising absenteeism, unnecessarily long speeches and other nuisances calculated to hold up parliamentary business.

10. The more troubled phase in the preparation of the Seven-Year Plan, which started in April, continued during the month. The new organization of the planning authority and the appointment of Dr. Taqi Nasr as director-general under the Supreme Planning Council presided over by Ali Mansur, was announced in the early part of the month. Although the new director-general is already showing considerable activity, the new organisation has not yet settled down. The experts of Overseas Consultants Incorporated have returned to the United States to complete their final report by the end of June; the Majlis requirement that a summary of projects to be undertaken should be furnished by the third week in May proved impracticable and was allowed to lapse. No progress can now be made with the beginning of the executive phase of the plan until the Majlis authorises the planning authority to go ahead; the position at present is that the funds earmarked for this purpose—60 per cent. of the oil royalties for 1948-49 and 100 per cent. in the future—are no longer available for the

general exchequer but cannot yet be drawn upon for the specific purposes of the plan. M. van Zeeland, who has been summoned to Tehran to give advice to the Government on the monetary aspects of the plan and on general currency questions, spent a week in Tehran towards the end of the month and has returned to Brussels. M. Ibtihaj, governor of the Bank Melli, returning to Persia in time to be present during Mr. van Zeeland's visit.

11. Plans have been drawn up by the general staff, on the Shah's orders, for bringing the whole of the gendarmerie under the direct command of the army, with the exception of a small force of 4,000 which is to remain under the Ministry of the Interior to ensure the enforcement of the verdicts of the courts. These changes have been the target of criticism in the American press, as they greatly restrict the scope of the United States Mission to the Persian gendarmerie, and also because they are considered to be a step along the path to military dictatorship. In an inspired statement announcing the proposed changes it was, however, stated that the functions of the mission would not be affected.

12. At the end of his speech to the members of the Constituent Assembly referred to in paragraph 8 above, the Shah announced an amnesty for those journalists other than Tudeh members who had been arrested after the attempt on his life in February. In consequence, seven journalists have been released. The trials of members of the Tudeh have continued. The seventeen principal leaders of the Tudeh Party who have escaped arrest were tried in Tehran in their absence and the verdict was passed on 18th May condemning eight of the accused to death and the other nine to terms of solitary confinement ranging between five and ten years. Other trials of subordinate members of the party have continued. Five sentences varying between three and ten years hard labour were passed on 11th May, while the number of sentences passed by military courts last month have been confirmed. Of the trials in Resht, all subject to confirmation, seven sentences varying between nine months and six years have been passed, and three of the accused have been acquitted. At Isfahan a number of sentences varying between three and five years have on appeal been reduced to one to three years, and certain others of the accused have been acquitted. At Shiraz also the authorities

have been lenient. The Tudeh Party is not active in that region and the few local members are to some extent innocuous. In consequence, the sentences passed on those of the accused were quashed on appeal.

Conditions in the Provinces

13. In Azerbaijan there is considerable criticism of the Government and discontent at the recall of the former governor-general, Khalil Fahimi, which is likely to increase if, as is feared, his successor shows a disinclination to live permanently at Tabriz or to apply himself with any keenness to the problems of the province.

14. A serious disaster due to the long winter and late snow-falls has resulted in great suffering to the tribal Shahsavan population in the Moghan Steppe on the Soviet frontier north of Ardebil. They have lost upwards of 400,000 sheep and lambs and a number of horses and camels. They are consequently on the verge of starvation and with no hope of reconstituting their fortunes. Some 50,000 people are said to have been affected. Relief measures have been taken by the Government, 270 tons of wheat and flour having been sent to the area from Ardebil; money has been collected in Tabriz and arrangements have been made to send up tractors in time to plough the land for the sowing of beans and potatoes. The Shahsavan tribesmen are a loyal element on whom the military authorities depend for their assistance in the defence of this exposed part of Persia in the event of Soviet attack or infiltration. However, the military authorities at Tabriz have stated that their loyalty and usefulness has not been affected by the calamity which has befallen them.

15. Harvest prospects in the country are generally good, particularly in the north. There has been adequate rain in the Kermanshah area and in Khuzistan to make expectations above normal. For the first time in several years the prices of rice in Gilan have shown a slight fall, and in general the food situation looks better throughout the country than it has for some time, with the possible exception of meat prices which are still high in certain parts of the country, notably in Kermanshah. The outlook of the textile industry in Isfahan has slightly improved with the

announcement that the Government has decided to facilitate the importation of spare parts for the mills by the granting of credits, and that Pashmbaf Mill has been granted loans totalling 14 million rials from the Bank Melli and the Agricultural Bank. Rail and road communication between Ahwaz and Khorramshahr, which was cut owing to floods during April, has been restored and there is some easing in consequence in the congestion on the customs wharves at the port of Khorramshahr.

16. Tudeh pamphlets printed in Tehran on May Day have been circulating in Abadan, referring to the success of Communist forces in China and Greece, the failure of the Marshall Plan and oppressive measures by the Persian authorities. Khuzistan was mentioned as the headquarters of the workers, who had stood firm against the high-handed oppression of the Government and capitalists. There have been a number of further cell meetings in Abadan at which speakers made attacks on the formation of the Co-operative Society, which was said to be a movement on the part of the Government and the company to support the Central Union of Khuzistan Workers. The efforts made last month to bring about a fusion between the union and the remnants of Yusuf Iftikhari's Union of Oil Workers have broken down owing to the refusal of the leaders of the former union, particularly M. Muhammad. The annual revision of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's minimum wage was completed in April, the monetary wage remaining at 40 rials per day. The workers appear to be satisfied with the revision.

17. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer Persian Gulf; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR JUNE 1949

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 7th July)

(No. 239)
Sir,

Tehran,
5th July, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 203 of 7th June, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during the month of June 1949. The economic situation of the country grew sensibly worse, and with it the position of M. Sa'ad's Cabinet. Majlis proceedings have been no brisker or more useful than they were before the Constituent Assembly. The series of visits to Tehran by Islamic potentates continued with a State visit by the Regent of Iraq and the announcement of one by King Abdullah of Transjordan. The Persian Government have submitted not unreasonable counter-proposals to the most recent and, it was hoped, final offer of more revenue by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

Foreign Affairs

2. The decision to close the Soviet Consulates in Persia and the Persian Consulate in Baku was put into effect after some delay, and by the end of the month the Soviet Consuls at Isfahan, Kermanshah, Ahwaz, Tabriz, Ardebil and Rezaieh had left their posts. It is too early to assess the effect of the withdrawal on Soviet influence and Soviet-inspired activity in Persia. The Russians do not apparently expect this withdrawal to be permanent; the embassy has sent two of its members to Bushire to install a caretaker in the former Soviet Consulate, which is also to be used as a warehouse for the property of the Soviet Consulate at Ahwaz.

The Persian Ambassador has now presented his letters in Moscow, but M. Sadchikov is still on leave, and towards the end of the month it was reported that his wife was about to join him there. This was interpreted as meaning that M. Sadchikov himself would not return to his post. There were no further incidents, but there have been reports of continued military and aerial activity in Soviet Azerbaijan.

3. The visit of Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, reported in paragraph 7 of my despatch under reference, was followed by a State visit by the Regent of Iraq and by the announcement that King Abdullah of Transjordan would

come to Tehran after Ramazan. Towards the end of the month the Transjordanian Minister in Kabul arrived in Tehran, presumably to make arrangements. There is no Transjordan Mission here. There were also reports that the Turkish President would come to Tehran in September, and that the Shah was considering an invitation to Colonel Husni-el-Zaim from Syria. As against this, when the Chief of the Afghan General Staff paid a short visit to Tehran *en route* to Europe, he stated that the King of Afghanistan would not be coming to Tehran for medical treatment, as had been previously reported, but he did not exclude the possibility of a visit.

4. The visit of the Regent of Iraq was celebrated by the usual ceremonies. Dr. Jamali, the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs, who accompanied the Regent, had discussions with M. Hikmat, summarised in a communiqué stating that friendly discussions had taken place on questions of mutual interest and had ended in complete agreement. The two countries were resolved on close collaboration in international matters, and had decided to elevate the status of their respective diplomatic missions to that of embassies. An indication of the rôle which Pan-Islamic solidarity had played in these discussions was afforded by a telegram sent by the Foreign Ministers of Persia and Iraq to the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan and Afghanistan, expressing the hope that a peaceful solution would be found to the present differences between those two countries.

5. No mention was made in the communiqué of the Shatt-al-Arab dispute, but Dr. Jamali was known to have intended replying that the Persia-Iraq frontier must be settled before the conclusion of a new convention of which the Persians have sent him a draft, regarding the administration of the river.

6. Towards the end of the month the reported refusal of the Israeli Government to re-admit former Persian residents in Palestine evoked much unfavourable comment.

7. Although Persian Ministers and officials recognised that it bore no official character, the visit of Sir William Strang,

Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, was naturally associated by the press with the visit of the Regent of Iraq and there was much loose talk of the formation of a Middle East anti-Communist bloc with which both visits were said to be connected. There was also a widespread conviction that his visit was connected with the oil question.

8. The Persians have recently reasserted their claims to the islands of Tumb and Abu Musa and have added a claim to the island of Farsi. There were reports during June probably arising from the establishment of a regiment of marines for Coastal Security, that the Persian Government intended to land troops on these islands. Meanwhile, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as was to be expected, maintained their position in a series of notes though the Under-Secretary when receiving one from this embassy about Farsi, made no comment on His Majesty's Government's decision to remove from that island a brass plate claiming it as Persian territory.

Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and Imperial Bank of Iran

9. Both the Cabinet and the Shah continued to consider the nature of the settlement to be reached with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and after a meeting of political leaders on 8th June, at which the Minister of Finance propounded his version of the recent negotiations, the Government submitted to the company's local representative a new proposal. It modified their previous insistence that their revenue from the company should be stabilised at a minimum equal to the 1948 figure (under the company's offer) of £18,750,000, by the suggestion of a sliding scale which would modify this sum in proportion to fluctuations in the world price of oil from its present level. Alternatively, the Government proposed that their share of the declared dividends and general reserve should be stabilised at a minimum of £4 million per annum for the remainder of the concession (as against the company's offer of £2,500,000). The idea of a recourse to arbitration, if the Government's latest proposals were to fail, has its supporters, but they do not include the Shah, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs or the majority of those who attended the meeting of 8th June.

10. In spite of the apparently satisfactory settlement between the Imperial Bank of Iran and the Persian Government re-

ported in paragraph 5 of my despatch No. 123 of 6th April. The bank is embarrassed by M. Ibtihaj's refusal to allow them Government exchange (in the form of exchange certificates), since his steady forcing-down of the open market rate has reduced the volume of exports through authorised channels and thus the normal supply of foreign exchange. M. Ibtihaj seems to identify the bank with those elements in the bazaar who are thwarting his plans (see paragraph 11 below). The Minister of Finance gave the usual assurances of support for the bank, but so far the opposition of M. Ibtihaj has been strong enough to prevent their fulfilment, even though his influence is not as great as it was.

Internal Affairs

11. Internal politics were dominated by a serious deterioration in the economic situation. The troubles of the textile factories in Isfahan, which were mentioned in paragraph 15 of my despatch under reference, grew worse. One factory in Isfahan closed down and several hundred of its employees came to Tehran to protest to the Government. Textile mills in Tabriz and Shiraz threatened also to shut down. The Prime Minister, seriously alarmed, decided to send high-powered commissions of investigation to Isfahan, Tabriz and Shiraz. Government stocks of wheat ran low and an appeal was made to the United States for the supply by purchase and loan of around 200,000 tons of grain. In the latter half of the month sugar became very scarce and nearly doubled in price. It appeared that the Ministry of Finance, in an over-subtle attempt to play off one supplier against another, had failed to place orders in time. But the usual allegations of bribery and malversation were followed by the suspension of three senior officials of the Ministry of Finance. In the Tehran bazaar, business was very slack, and the merchants are said to be using their "go-slow" methods to pursue their vendetta with M. Ibtihaj, who is also at loggerheads with the Industrial Bank, and has refused to advance funds to it.

12. The Seven-Year Plan has made little progress. The single article Bill authorising the Planning Organisation to carry out work on its own responsibility during the current year is likely to be passed by the present Majlis. But the six members of the Supervisory Commission, whose establishment must precede the execution

of the plan, have still to be selected. This delay seems due to a fundamental divergence of view between the Government and the Shah on one side, with M. Ibtihaj, strongly entrenched behind his control of internal finance and the Government's foreign exchange resources, making an independent stand. It was originally agreed that oil royalties should be entirely devoted to the plan; but both the Minister of Finance and the Shah are now opposing the allocation to the plan of the additional resources which are expected to accrue from the Oil Company over and above the £7 million a year at which oil revenues stood when the original proposal was approved. The Minister of Finance needs the additional revenues to reduce the large deficit shown in the 1949-50 Budget Estimates now being debated in the Majlis. The Shah, for his part, wishes part of the additional oil revenue to be spent on military stores. This does not mean of course that His Majesty has withdrawn his full support of the plan, but that he believes that other funds should be available, though it is not clear from where, since M. Ibtihaj says that the Bank Melli cannot lend money to the Government unless the Bill to reduce the statutory note cover is passed. The prospects of this, however, are poor (see paragraph 10 of my despatch under reference). The International Bank, the other possible source of funds, have made it clear that they will not lend anything like the \$250 million hoped for and that even a modest loan of \$30-50 million has little chance unless it is made up of specific and self-liquidating projects. Messrs. Bayne and Weik, of the bank who recently visited Tehran, have left with the impression that the plan would have to rely largely on oil revenues and that the Persian Government would approach the International Bank very shortly for a loan of up to \$50 million.

13. As a result of all this it was widely reported at the end of the month that the present Cabinet would resign or be dismissed after the end of the present Majlis session and the conclusion of an agreement with the Oil Company, and in particular that M. Golshayan, the Minister of Finance, would lose his post.

14. On 15th June, the Shah issued his firman for the election of the Senate, in accordance with the Bill passed last month and described in paragraph 9 of my despatch under reference: the representation of religious minorities is however still under discussion, the Government having pro-

posed certain amendments after the original Bill had been approved.

15. Little legislation of importance was enacted by the Majlis. Certain articles of the Bill modifying electoral procedure and mentioned in paragraph 9 of my despatch under reference have now been passed, including two requiring the nomination of candidates, a fundamental innovation, and the deposit of 12,000 rials by candidates (to be forfeited if they receive less than one-eighth of the votes cast); but the article which requires secret voting and the writing by the voter of his chosen candidate's name, though it has been the subject of protracted and heated debate, has still to be approved. The Labour Law was, however, passed at long last. Other Bills passed included a measure to confer on the late Riza Shah the title of "The Great" and this, together with another transferring to the Imperial Organisation for Social Services (under its royal but unpopular patroness Princess Ashraf), the estates originally acquired by that Monarch whose return to their owners had been expected at the time of his abdication, made a bad impression and did not enhance the popularity of the Shah who is known to be particularly attached to the Princess, his twin sister. At the end of the month, discussion of the revised budget estimates for 1528 (March 21st, 1949-March 20th, 1950) had just begun, and a provisional Twelfth to cover Khurdad (the month ending 20th June) had been approved. The proposal to suppress the normal increments in Civil Service pay, combined with some ten days' delay in paying official salaries aroused much indignation.

The Provinces

16. In Azerbaijan, grain has been particularly scarce and there have been bread riots in Maragheh, Ardibil and Ahar. In all three places there were serious clashes between the rioters and the authorities, one of whom, the Governor of Ahar, was fatally injured. The departure of the Soviet Consuls was followed by bazaar rumours that Russian troops would enter Azerbaijan on 21st June, but these ceased to alarm the province after 21st June had passed without incident. Prince Ali Riza, the Shah's eldest brother, visited the province mainly to tour the distressed area of the Moghan Steppe (see paragraph 14 of my despatch under reference). The army has moved food to the Shahsavan's summer

quarters, and the authorities declare themselves satisfied with the situation there. The new Governor-General Mr. Valatabar has at last arrived at his post.

17. There have been continued reports of Mulla Mustafa's intrigues in Kurdistan and Marshal Shabbakhti communicated to the Iraqi Consul at Tabriz certain reports to the effect that he was canvassing the tribes by means of pamphlets dropped from the air. He also told him that armed Barzanis had entered Iran from Iraq. The General Officer commanding at Rizaieh had received unconfirmed reports of fighting in Iraq between followers of Mulla Mustafa and Iraqi forces, but thought it unlikely that any of the former could have made their way into Iraq.

18. The Tudeh party in Khuzistan is apparently quiescent, two of its leaders having fled to Iraq and Kuwait and no directions reaching the local party leaders from Tehran, but there have been a number of cell meetings and funds are believed to be reaching the party. The central union of Khuzistan workers, set up as a rival to the Tudeh unions has made no further progress and the high prices in the bazaar and a poor crop prospects may cause trouble later on.

19. The directors of one of the Isfahan textile factories (Shahriza) were arrested by the military authorities for not having paid arrears of wages as promised. The

supplications of other factory directors, however, and a further promise (still only partially honoured) secured their release. Other mills are also in arrears with their wages and most of them have stocks of finished goods awaiting disposal. The full effect of the new Labour Law has not yet been felt in the factories as the employers are showing themselves chary of using their newly-acquired power of dismissal at seven days' notice. Instead they are exploring means of reducing wages.

20. Preliminary surveys for the siting of the new sugar factory in Fars are still being carried out but work is now going ahead with the construction of a new, privately-owned spinning and weaving mill in Shiraz. It appears that this project is to be linked with a new power-supply for Shiraz on a bigger scale than the existing one.

21. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

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No. 43

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR JULY 1949

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Attlee (Received 11th August)

(No. 268)
Sir,

Tehran,
8th August, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 239 of 5th July, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during July 1949. King Abdullah of Jordan visited Tehran. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company managed with some difficulty to conclude an agreement with the Persian Government, only to find that the latter was unable to persuade the Majlis to ratify it. The first budget for six years was passed, and the Majlis authorised the start of operations under the Seven-Year Plan. The fifteenth Majlis came to an end: elections for the next one are expected to begin immediately after those for the newly

established senate, which are to take place in the first half of August.

Foreign Relations

2. As foreshadowed in paragraph 3 of my despatch under reference, the King of Jordan arrived in Tehran on a State visit on 28th July, which was celebrated by a round of official parties. His Majesty also visited the University, museums, hospitals and charitable institutions. It was remarkable that although a Sunni, the King made his devotions publicly in a Shi'ah mosque, and that he was at particular pains to praise the late Riza Shah. His Majesty was accompanied by his Minister for Foreign Affairs and by a former Prime

Minister, but there has so far been no communiqué or unofficial report about their talks. Diplomatic relations have now been established between the two countries: the Jordan Minister to Afghanistan and Pakistan, M. Muhammad Pasha Ash-Shuraigi, has also been accredited to Persia, while the Persian Minister in Beirut has been accredited to Jordan.

3. An arrangement has been made with the Israeli authorities whereby Persians formerly resident in Palestine and who left during the hostilities may now return there. At the same time a number of Jews in Persia are returning to Palestine in aircraft specially chartered by Persian Airways.

4. There is little of interest to report about Soviet-Persian relations. M. Sadchikov is still on leave and it was noticeable that no members of the Soviet Embassy attended the official parties for King Abdullah, head of a "British puppet" state. The Soviet citizens who, as reported in paragraph 2 of my despatch under reference, arrived in Bushire to take over the Soviet Consulate there, have now left under pressure from the local authorities and the entire Soviet Consular establishments in Resht and Pahlavi have also returned to the Soviet Union, leaving only one Vice-Consul at Pahlavi. The Persians have indirectly taken a new initiative against Russian influence in this country by issuing a decree which seems intended to bring all religious communities under the leadership of Persian nationals and to prevent the arrival of religious leaders from abroad. This is acknowledged by the Persians themselves to be directed against the Gregorian prelates appointed from Soviet Armenia to the Sees of Tehran, Tabriz and Isfahan, and it has coincided with an attempt by the authorities in Isfahan to rid themselves of the Armenian Bishop, Kostanian, who is a Soviet citizen.

5. The new Czechoslovak Minister, Dr. Vavra, arrived and presented his credentials on 26th July. His Roumanian colleague, the reported head of the Cominform organisation in Persia, is alleged to have made his mission the centre of a spy ring recently discovered by the Tehran police. Two Persian employees of the Legation were arrested.

6. In an interview given to Mr. Ward Price, correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, on 9th July, the Shah spoke with some bitterness of his disappointed hopes of economic

help from the Western Powers and particularly the United States. His Majesty repeated this contention in a speech made to the Majlis deputies and recorded at greater length in paragraph 13 below, and at also at some length in an audience I had with him recently. The theme has been taken up by the press and played against the background of recent statements by President Truman about aid for backward and threatened countries. The Persian Government have so far been unable to buy wheat on credit from the United States and His Majesty's Governments. Owing to crop failures in some districts it is estimated that 200,000 tons of wheat will need to be imported during the next twelve months if bread shortages are to be avoided.

7. It has been officially announced that the Shah will visit the United States at the end of November.

8. Relations with the United Kingdom have been dominated by the oil negotiations, described in more detail in paragraph ten below. On 31st July the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf formally handed over to the Commander of the Persian Navy His Majesty's Ships *Derby Haven* and *Fly*, which were promptly taken into Persian service and renamed *Rahr* and *Palang* after the two ships sunk in 1941.

9. There were unconfirmed reports that the Crown Prince of Kuwait would come to Tehran to discuss Persia's recognition of Kuwait, and the Kuwaiti Minister of Finance did, in fact, pay a visit to Tehran. No more was heard of the Persian intention to land troops on the islands of Tamb and Abu Musa, which was referred to in paragraph 8 of my despatch under reference, but I have reason to believe that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did at one time contemplate such a course.

British Interests

10. At the beginning of the month the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company declared themselves ready to accept the second of the alternative Persian counter-proposals described in paragraph 9 of my despatch under reference. Meanwhile an agitation, probably engineered by the Concessions Department of the Ministry of Finance, had started in the press against the Company's "General Plan" for the implementation of article 16 of the Concession which provides for a progressive reduction in the Company's foreign

employees. It had previously been understood that once the parties had agreed on a revision of the financial terms the Government would accept this General Plan, but at a meeting attended by the Cabinet Ministers concerned, the Tehran representative of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and myself, it became clear that the Company would have to make some concession on this point. The Persian representatives accepted a compromise formula, to which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's London office agreed with some reluctance. By this formula the Persian Government accepted the essential features of the General Plan, and undertook to negotiate a definite agreement within two months, failing which the matter would be referred to arbitration at the end of a further period of one month. The "Supplemental Agreement" (which modifies the terms of the Company's royalty and other payments to the Persian Government) was duly signed on 17th July and a Bill embodying it was thereupon submitted to the Majlis. The Bill was referred to the Financial and Budget Commissions who approved it without delay. When the Bill was resubmitted to the House the debate was deliberately obstructed by M. Makki, deputy for Arak, who was supported by a small group of fellow Deputies but had no considerable following either in the Majlis or outside it. Although the Prime Minister insisted that the Bill was not a treaty or a concession and that therefore each speaker's time should be limited, M. Makki went on speaking at intervals for over a week and no effective action was taken to prevent him doing so either by the President of the Majlis or by the Government. The Majlis was eventually dissolved before a vote had been taken. The reasons for this deplorable failure have been discussed more fully in my despatch No. 276 of 1st August. No agreement with the Oil Company could have been rendered popular with the press or the Majlis, who were by now anxious that their vote on the Bill should not prejudice their prospects of re-election: but even those deputies prepared on patriotic grounds to accept the agreement were shocked by the haste with which the Government sought to put the measure through. They were encouraged in this attitude by a letter counselling deliberation and signed by Sayyid Muhammad Tabatabai, a former President of the Majlis and a veteran of the constitutional struggles. The Government had also neglected to put their own

point of view properly before the Majlis or the public: no Government speakers were held in readiness to spring up in the rare intervals of M. Makki's filibuster, though the Minister of Finance's own statements were lucid and helpful, and no attempt was made to explain it on the radio or in the newspapers. Many deputies also feared that if the Bill passed, the Government would be in no hurry to hold elections for the new Majlis, and the Government announcement that the elections would in any case start at once came too late. The agreement now remains in suspense until the assembly of the new Majlis.

11. The difficulties of the Imperial Bank continue. The Minister of Finance is not prepared to instruct M. Ibtihaj to provide the Bank with Government exchange and there has been a marked fall in its deposits and advances. Certain minor mitigations to which the Minister of Finance has agreed, will enable the Bank just to pay its way, but more substantial improvement must depend on agreement to charge higher rates of interest and on increased supplies of foreign exchange.

Internal Affairs

12. On 4th July the Majlis unexpectedly passed the single article authorising the Planning Organisation to execute such works as it considered desirable during the first year of the Seven-Year Plan, in advance of the completion of the whole plan, which still waits on the report by Overseas Consultants. M. Taqi Nasr lost no time in announcing the projects to be undertaken. Work will resume at once on the Mianeh/Tabriz and Shahrud/Meshed extensions of the railway. Other projects include mechanisation of agriculture, promotion of farmers' co-operatives, irrigation schemes and an anti-malarial campaign. It was next announced that the Plan Organisation would take over the control of the Industrial and Agricultural Banks. The former has long been a by-word for corruption and incompetence and its Director had already resigned after an unsuccessful campaign in the press. His board has been dismissed. Dr. Nasr has declared that he will reduce the inflated staff of the Industrial Bank's head office and bring its numerous subsidiary enterprises directly under the Plan Organisation, as separate entities. The Agricultural

Bank will be left much as it is, and its funds increased.

13. The Majlis then returned to the traditional long and irrelevant Budget debate, but on 10th July the deputies were summoned to the Shah's palace and harangued by His Majesty on their duties. He emphasized particularly the need to pass the Budget and an Electoral Reform Bill before the elections for the sixteenth legislature. While touching on Persia's disappointed expectations of help from her war-time allies, he made clear his opinion that the progress of Persia must come from within by the extermination of corruption and incompetence and by the productive investment of capital now hoarded or wasted in speculation. He also urged the passage of a Bill for peasant co-operatives, and the shifting of taxation to shoulders able to bear it.

14. The Budget was passed in the next few days. It showed a nominal deficit of 3,000 million rials, expenditure being estimated at some 11,000 million and receipts at nearly 8,000 million. As in the past the Minister of Finance hopes to eliminate most of the deficit by economies. The Ministry of War accounts for about one quarter of the total expenditure in contrast with the Ministry of Agriculture's allocation of two per cent. The most controversial article of the Electoral Reform Bill, providing for a literacy test and the secret ballot, was next approved at a special session. However, the Bill's opponents adopted the stratagem of swallowing the camel and straining at the gnat, for some less important articles were subsequently receipts at nearly 8,000 million. As in the present legislature were entirely taken up by the debate on the Oil Bill described in paragraph 10 above, the session closed without a vote.

15. Thus little except the Budget was achieved by the fifteenth Majlis before its close, though some Bills of minor importance, (including one increasing income tax), were referred to the Finance Commission and granted the force of law after its approval.

16. The Majlis held its last and purely formal session on Thursday 28th July. The Senate elections to be held under the new procedure will start on 6th August, to be followed at once by the elections for the lower house: these will be held under the old law.

17. The economic situation improved a little over the month, some food prices showing a slight fall. The new harvest began to come in, and the Government's efforts to elicit hoarded stocks of sugar reduced the price and somewhat improved the supply in Tehran, though not in the provinces.

18. During the last two months the authorities have arrested about forty members of the former Tudeh Party and their helpers. One block of arrests followed the discovery of the spy ring at the Roumanian Legation as mentioned in paragraph 5 above. Others were of persons accused of preparing and distributing pamphlets. Two of these, attacking the Electoral Reform Bill and the Oil Agreement, had some currency, and it was notable that both measures subsequently failed to pass the Majlis. A series of trials began at the end of the month. There were also trials and re-trials in the provinces at Resht and Isfahan. It appears that Tehran may no longer be the effective Headquarters for Tudeh activities and that in Abadan at any rate the local party formulates and executes its own plans. Muhammadi, head of the Central Oil Workers of Khuzistan, whose allegiance was formerly in doubt, came out openly on the Communist side.

The Court

19. For some time the more frivolous courtiers have been campaigning against M. Mahmud Jam, Minister of Court, who is said to have resisted their extravagance. He earlier refused to give up his appointment and accept that of Governor-General of Tabriz but on 11th July it was announced that the Government had asked for his *agrément* as Ambassador to Italy. This was given a few days later and M. Hazhir, a former Prime Minister, became Minister of Court. He will probably take a more lively part in politics than did his predecessor. I understand that he is determined to set the Court accounts in order, but being on much better terms with the more irresponsible courtiers he may be less able to withstand their continual pressure for money.

20. On 21st July a son was born in America to Princess Shams and at the beginning of July Prince Ghulam Riza, the Shah's second brother, left for France to enter the Cavalry school at Saumur.

The Provinces

21. Cereal crops are not coming up to expectations, especially in Azerbaijan, Kermanshah and Shiraz. It is estimated that the total wheat crop this year may be ten to fifteen per cent. less than last year.

22. The reports of renewed activity by Mulla Mustafa continued to cause anxiety along the Persian-Iraqi frontier and particularly in Tabriz. There is no proof however that this is well founded, and the Governor of Sanadaj is satisfied that there is no subversive activity among the Kurds in his area, and no special discontent. He appears to have been successful in keeping food prices low. There has however been an incursion of Iraqi Kurds into Persian territory, leading to some bloodshed: the Governor has hinted that military negligence is to blame.

23. The new Governor-General of Azerbaijan, whose arrival was reported in paragraph 16 of my despatch under reference, has made a good impression by his energy and determination to revive the economic life of the province: he has declared that he has told Marshal Shahbakhti to stick to his last and not interfere in civil affairs. The supply of bread has been improved by imports from other provinces, and distribution rendered more efficient: but the province as a whole has been, contrary to expectation, a deficit area in the crop-year 1948-49.

24. In Isfahan, the arrest of the directors of the Shahriza textile factory, which remains closed, was followed by that of the Dehesh brothers of the Nur factory: they were released after promising to pay arrears of wages. (It is notable that trouble has also started at the Ittihadieh mills in Bushire, where the management have fallen into arrears with wage payments). The Eski Trade Union leaders

have shown signs of independence, and are considered by the authorities, probably incorrectly, to have come under Tudeh influence. Work has started on the far (south) end of the Kuh-i-Rang tunnel.

25. There is little to report from the tribal areas. The tribes round Ahwaz remain quiet, and the Kubgalu are said to have surrendered rifles: so has one of the rival chiefs in the Bushire neighbourhood. In Khorassan, the General Officer Commanding is beginning military training for the tribes, and has distributed rifles to one of them, the Taimuri.

26. Municipal elections in Abadan were held on 1st July. Mustafa Fateh, Assistant Manager of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, acting through Dr. Bakhtiar, of the Ministry of Labour, alleged that the elections were being faked by the Supervisory Board, and is believed to be behind a press agitation against the Governor of Abadan.

27. No decision has yet been reached about the proposed sugar factory at Fasa near Shiraz, mainly owing to the problem of segregating the Czechoslovak engineers who would come to Persia to erect it, but a party of surveyors from the Industrial and Mining Bank, whose dissolution is reported in paragraph 12 above, visited Fasa to survey the possibilities.

28. Copies of this despatch have been sent to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 11227/1013/34

No. 44

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR AUGUST 1949

Mr. Lawford to Mr. Attlee. (Received 15th September)

(No. 324)
Sir,

Tehran,
13th September, 1949.

With reference to Sir John le Rougetel's despatch No. 288 of 8th August, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia in August 1949. The

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Persian Government, at the prompting of the Shah, continued their campaign for United States economic assistance. Kidnappings of Persian military and civilians on the Soviet frontier led to demands in the press that the matter should be placed

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before the United Nations, and this view appeared also to be held by certain members of the Government; the strengthening of Persia's bonds with her Islamic neighbours continued. The polling for the Senate was conducted in apparent freedom in the capital, but the public remained apathetic. M. Hazhir, Minister of Court, took action to strengthen his position as the Shah's confidant and mouthpiece. Supplies of sugar increased, but the wheat position gave rise to anxiety, and there was an upheaval in the Seven-Year Planning Board where, after the Executive Director and two of his lieutenants had been dismissed, Prince Abdur Riza, Honorary President, tendered his resignation to the Shah who did not, however, accept it.

Foreign Affairs

2. The campaign mentioned in paragraph 6 of Sir John Le Rougetel's despatch under reference for help from the United States increased in vigour. Nettled perhaps by a broadcast announcement on 6th August that only 27 million dollars would be available under the Military Assistance Programme for distribution to Korea, the Philippines and Persia, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs publicly reiterated Persian claims for United States help, which they demanded as a right, created by Persia's war-time co-operation with the Allies. The Prime Minister announced that the Persian Government had submitted to the United States Government a detailed list to a total value of 147 million dollars of Persia's immediate needs, which he claimed were in no way connected with the Seven-Year Plan. This document, apparently prepared at the Shah's instigation, by-passed the Cabinet and was submitted to the United States Embassy only just before its existence was publicly announced by M. Sa'id. The Cabinet exercised some pressure on the Minister for Foreign Affairs to pay a visit to Washington to discuss this document, in preparation for the Shah's visit in the autumn, but he resisted it. Persia's claims were naturally well ventilated in the press, particularly on the occasion of the anniversary of the Allied occupation in 1941, when newspapers called upon the Allies to make good the difference between the prosperity of Persia and Riza Shah "the Great" and its poverty to-day. Publicly, the United States Government has not reacted violently to this ill-considered campaign; and the spokesman of their embassy promised that

all requests for help addressed to the embassy would be forwarded to the State Department. Privately, however, the embassy circulated an outspoken memorandum to officials of the Bank Melli and the Seven-Year Plan, throwing cold water on the Persian claims to have suffered extensive damage as a result of the war and putting into correct perspective the exaggerated idea prevalent here of the help afforded by the Western Powers to Turkey, which is a constant Persian grievance.

3. During August there were two further incidents on the Soviet-Persian frontier and news was released of another which had taken place in July. Although such incidents, particularly on the ill-defined Atrak frontier, are recurrent the three most recent incidents involved the kidnapping of Persian soldiers and civilians, which is new. Altogether fourteen officers and other ranks and one civilian fell into Soviet hands. Diplomatic protests and demands for their return were made in Tehran and Moscow, but by the end of the month these had produced no result, and it was alleged that certain members of the Cabinet, although not the Minister for Foreign Affairs, were in favour of referring the incidents to the United Nations should the kidnapped men not be returned. This possibility was mentioned by the Minister for Foreign Affairs in a press conference. The Shah made a statement in an interview with the Associated Press correspondent to the effect that, much as he desired an improvement in Soviet-Persian relations, the initiative must rest with the Soviet Government. The Minister for Foreign Affairs later denied reports that extra troops had been despatched to the frontier. Among other reasons, the Persian Government are unwilling to aggravate their relations with the Soviet Government because at the moment it seems possible that 100,000 tons of wheat may be made available for sale to Persia from the U.S.S.R. against payment in sterling. The Soviet citizens who, as reported in paragraph 4 of Sir J. Le Rougetel's despatch under reference, were compelled to leave Bushire, have now returned with the consent of the Ministry of the Interior to act as caretakers of the Soviet Consulate there.

4. There were no spectacular developments in Persia's relations with her Islamic neighbours, but some progress was made in establishing new friendships or patching up old quarrels. The visit of the King of Jordan, which was reported in paragraph 2

of Sir John Le Rougetel's despatch under reference, resulted, at the moment of His Majesty's departure, in a communiqué stating that the two Governments would conclude Treaties of Friendship and Commerce and in other ways develop closer relations and work for greater solidarity in the Moslem world. Negotiations were also in progress during the month for a Treaty of Friendship with Pakistan. It was announced that a commission would be set up to demarcate the undefined portions of the Pakistan-Persian frontier, and the Pakistan Government acquired popularity in Persia by a report that they had withdrawn an invitation to Bahrain to participate in the Karachi Economic Conference, in order to make possible Persian participation. This report, though probably incorrect, was not denied by the Pakistan Embassy. It was announced in the press during the month that the Iraqi Government had agreed to maintain a stricter frontier control against smuggling and that the demarcation of the Iraqi-Persian frontier would shortly be complete. With Afghanistan, however, there was no improvement of relations. The Afghanistan Ambassador, in refuting some of the statements of Mr. Ward Price of the *Daily Mail* about Afghanistan, accused the Persian Government of lukewarmness in their support of arbitration on the Helmand River dispute. The Persian Government promptly claimed to have done their full share towards achieving a settlement.

5. The claim of the Persian Government for compensation in respect of use of Persian railways during the war by British forces was settled. Persian agreement (which has been much delayed) to accept £5,700,000 had been followed by a demand that 60 per cent. of this sum should be payable in gold under the terms of the former Financial Agreement. His Majesty's Government could not but admit the validity of the Persian arguments but entered a plea that, given the present serious strain on their gold and dollar resources, the Persian Government should defer the exercise of their right. The Persian Government agreed.

British Interests

6. Little more was heard about the ratification of the Supplemental Agreement, though certain members of the Government have expressed the hope that the 16th Majlis, to be convened in October, should not contain any violent opponents of the agree-

ment. Meanwhile, the Persian Government addressed to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company a request for an advance of £6 million on account of extra funds due once the agreement was ratified. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company declined to meet this request and this embassy informed the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that they saw no reason to press them to do so.

7. The implacable M. Ibtihaj pursued his vendetta against the Imperial Bank (which during the month officially changed its title to the British Bank of Iran and the Middle East). He resolutely declined to implement a Government decision to allow the British Bank to retain 55 per cent. of deposits against credits opened abroad instead of surrendering 100 per cent. Moreover, owing to his refusal to grant the bank Government exchange it found itself unable to meet all bills presented to it and had to refuse applications to open credits abroad for customers. Although the Minister of Court and other Ministers have promised support for the British Bank against Ibtihaj, it seems unlikely that any of them will have the courage to risk forcing his resignation. He has now secured recognition of the Bank Melli's position as the authority to negotiate with foreign banks the conditions for dealing in foreign exchange.

Internal Situation

8. The elections for the Senate began in Tehran on 28th August and somewhat earlier in the provinces. The public polling, in which each voter was to write down seventy-five names of his own choice, lasted three days but was only the first stage; the seventy-five persons elected by the Tehran public will next proceed to choose fifteen senators from among themselves and a further fifteen will be similarly elected in two stages from the provinces. It was reported that just over 15,000 voters had gone to the polls in Tehran. It is possible that even this comparatively low figure (the population of Tehran being estimated at 800,000) is an exaggeration, and it is thus evident that in spite of appeals in the press the public took no great interest in the elections. Even greater indifferences and smaller polls are reported from the provinces. The Tehran elections were free from the glaring malpractices which made a farce of those for the Constituent Assembly in April; and, in fact, the Tehran poll (the counting of which was not complete at the end of the month) seemed likely

to be headed by M. Musadiq, who is *persona non grata* to the Government, and to include among its first twenty names that of Abdul Qasim Kashani, who was exiled after the attempt on the life of the Shah. But from several provinces there were reliable reports that the local authorities had been told which candidates were to be elected.

9. At the end of the month the Supervisory Council for the Majlis elections in Tehran was formed, headed by Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Tabatabai, who had also headed the Supervisory Council for the Senate elections. In some parts of the provinces the Majlis elections had actually started by the end of the month. In spite of the publicly professed decision by the Shah and the Government that the Majlis elections should be free, it is widely believed that, in fact, a list of successful candidates has already been drawn up and, according to the Minister of Court, the Shah feels bound to ensure that those whom he considers "subversive" should not be elected. In preparation for the elections various "parties" presented themselves to the public: although some of them published vaguely-worded programmes, they are, in fact, mere accretions around leading personalities and, on past experience, will dissolve once the elections are over.

10. M. Sa'id completed his Cabinet by appointing M. Ghulam Hussein Furuhar, who, as reported in paragraph 12 of Sir John Le Rougetel's despatch under reference, had resigned from the Industrial and Mining Bank, as Minister of Labour, and M. Djavid Ganjoui, an Azerbaijani and formerly Deputy Speaker of the Majlis, as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs.

11. The appointment of M. Hazhir as Minister of Court was reported to have been followed by some changes in the Court personnel, besides a number of dismissals for incompetence or dishonesty. Adib-us-Saltaneh Sami'i, the Master of Ceremonies, and Yusif Shukrai, another important Court functionary, left the Court to take part in the Senate and Majlis elections; two Chamberlains, the brothers Qaraguzlu, went to Europe, ostensibly on leave. It is widely believed that these changes will increase the power of the Minister of Court, who is also reported to have issued a circular to Government Departments informing them that Court instructions should only be obeyed if they come from His Imperial Majesty or himself.

12. The Shah caused a temporary wave of anxiety and indignation among those who regard themselves as his best friends by his sudden patronage of Sayyid Muhammad Tabatabai, who was said to be aiming at the premiership. This flutter soon subsided and it is probable that, in fact, the approach to Tabatabai and his appointment as chief of the two Tehran Supervisory Commissions for the Senate and the Majlis elections had been merely a tactical move to appease a potential opponent who is much followed by the mullahs and in the bazaar.

13. The trials and arrests of members of the Tudeh, reported in paragraph 18 of Sir John Le Rougetel's despatch under reference, continued. At the same time martial law was lifted in Tehran and the Minister of Justice requested and obtained an amnesty for over 100 prisoners, some of whom had been imprisoned for Tudeh activities. Further clandestine pamphlets were printed and circulated, one of them attacking the establishment of the Senate. Pamphlets have also been sent from Tehran to provincial centres in Resht and Shiraz and others were distributed in Isfahan, where a number of Armenians were later arrested, and in Abadan. In Shiraz, the raising of martial law was followed immediately by an outcrop of Tudeh slogans on walls and pavements. In Abadan, cell meetings ceased after 4th August, in accordance with an instruction issued by a local leader, and the party has gone underground. This is believed to be the result of arrests made over the past six months by the Military Governor and of the discovery of informers. Several Tudeh leaders among the railway workers have returned to Ahwaz from their exile in Tehran.

14. With an unaccustomed alacrity which reflects their anxiety regarding future wheat supplies for the towns and Azerbaijan, the Government concluded the purchase of 90,000 tons of wheat in Canada and the United States. Purchases were also made in Pakistan and Iraq. The imports from North America and large arrivals of sugar will place a heavy strain on the railways and are likely to prejudice the building-up of oil stocks in the interior.

15. On 20th August Dr. Taqi Nasr, Executive Director of the Seven-Year Plan, was told on the Shah's orders to resign, together with two of his lieutenants. This action was taken without consultation with Prince Abdur Riza, who bitterly resented

it and offered to resign his honorary presidency of the Planning Organisation, although the Shah declined to accept it. These resignations seem to have been engineered by M. Ali Mansur, Dr. Musharraf Nafisi and M. Ibtihaj, and followed the taking over of the Industrial and Mining Bank by the Seven-Year Plan Organisation in July. Dr. Nasr, they considered, had shown himself hasty and inexperienced in carrying out this operation, and had made appointments to the Planning Board of Tudeh sympathisers—a charge denied by Prince Abdur Riza, Dr. Nasr's patron. Dr. Nasr's place was immediately taken by Dr. Musharraf Nafisi, and three new members were nominated to the Supreme Council to fill the place of the other officials who had resigned, although one of the nominees declined the appointment. Dr. Nafisi proceeded with his inherited task of liquidating the Industrial Bank and by the end of the month it had been announced that the textile factories in the Caspian provinces and the sugar refineries would be grouped into limited liability companies. It has also granted credits for sundry development projects and, against the inclination of both Dr. Nasr and Dr. Nafisi, allocated 150 million rials as the initial capital of a Persian oil company to exploit Persian oil resources outside the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concessional area. During the month Mr. Max Thornburg returned to Tehran with part of a 2,800-page report by Overseas Consultants, Incorporated, and made considerable progress with a contract for the executive phase. The report of Mr. Van Zeeland, whose visit to Tehran was mentioned in paragraph 10 of Sir John Le Rougetel's despatch No. 208 of 7th June, also reached Tehran during August. It did not support M. Ibtihaj's proposal to increase the note circulation and seems to have been shelved.

Conditions in the Provinces

16. The cereal harvest has not come up to expectations. The main causes appear to have been a shortage of seed and the exceptionally severe winter, which restricted spring sowings. The present official estimate of this year's crop is 1,650,000 tons as against 1,900,000 tons last year. In Azerbaijan, the largest producing area, this year's crop is estimated at little over half of last year's, and there is evidence that the Government are seriously disturbed by the prospect of unrest in the province.

17. There were three changes of Governor-General during the month. Mizbah Fatimi was relieved of his post as Governor-General of Khuzistan. It is widely believed that this was a result of his connexions with the smuggling fraternity in Khuzistan, but the oil company have cause to regret his departure, since he has always shown himself co-operative. His place has been taken by Fazlullah Bahrami, formerly Governor-General of Kerman, of whom I hear good reports. Muhammad Ali Varasteh, formerly Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, has gone to Kerman in place of Bahrami. The Governor-General of the 2nd Ustan (Mazanderan), Saifullah Navab, who took up the post with some reluctance very recently, has been recalled to Tehran and his place in Mazanderan taken by M. Issa Surush, who was Civil Governor of Tehran from 1943-44.

18. Ali Mohammadi, the leader of the Central Oil Workers' Union of Khuzistan (which, although having only about 3,000 members, is the one large workers' association in Khuzistan), has been provoked by some of the company's measures—in particular the dismissal of certain workers from the Construction Branch—into a strong campaign against them, and has threatened that if they pursue their policy his union will call a strike. He emphasised, however, that if so it would not be violent and would be in accordance with the Labour Law. Mohammadi circulated a proclamation on the above lines, in the face of a declaration by the Military Governor that it was illegal. Although Mohammadi does not conceal that many of his aims are (inevitably) identical with the economic programme presented by the Tudeh, he consistently denies any connexion with the Tudeh Party and has contributed much to the development of constitutional machinery for industrial relations.

19. On 20th August the Council of Ministers considered the industrial crisis at Isfahan. They decided that in future a strict eight-hour day should be worked and no overtime paid, and that workers receiving 1,200 rials or over per month should have their wages cut by 30 per cent. They also fixed a completely unrealistic minimum daily wage of 34 rials (which is also the legal minimum in Tehran). It is not possible for a man to support a wife and two children on this. As a counterpart to these measures against the workers the Council of Ministers decided that arrears of wages up to 22nd August must be paid

by the mill-owners, that there must be only one director per factory and that he should receive not more than 15,000 rials per month. Finally, they passed a decree establishing a technical supervisory committee to increase the efficiency of the textile industry in Isfahan. The committee will include technical experts and its duties will include investigation and supervision of all technical activities at the factories, and of costs, quality of production and prices, and the appointment of technical and administrative personnel. It remains to be seen whether this new committee can remedy the situation. The directors of the Nur factory were forced by the Military Governor to reinstate workers they had dismissed.

20. In Azerbaijan the new Governor-General appears to be working with diligence and success for the economic revival of the province. Work has begun on the Mianeh-Tabriz extension of the railway and has absorbed numbers of unemployed. M. Valatabar has, however, come up against the Commander-in-Chief, Marshal Shabbakhti, and also against his own Deputy Governor, who had tasted the sweets of office during the interval between the Governor-General's appointment and his arrival in Tabriz, and was unwilling to part with them—even going so far as to provoke an artificial bread shortage to discredit the Governor-General. During August the police whipped up an artificial "popular" agitation against foreign publicity organisations in Tabriz which led to the temporary closing of the Soviet and British publicity shops. Both later reopened.

21. From several provinces came news of large-scale plans of economic development. M. Asadullah Alam spent some weeks in Tehran fighting for a series of projects to improve economic conditions in Seistan and Baluchistan, of which he is Governor-General. Eventually, with the Shah's strong support, besides arranging for the importation of wheat and maize from Pakistan, he is believed to have succeeded in securing approval for the provision of funds to repair and build dams, construct schools and hospitals, and make roads. Near Shiraz initial work started on the Shishpir irrigation project, which will be operated by a semi-official company and is being financed by the Shah. The formation was announced of a company with an official capital of 20 million rials, to exploit the southern fisheries. It will set up refrigerated storage at Bushire, Abadan, Ahwaz, Shiraz and the island of Kharg, with a total capacity of 150 tons. It is not, however, clear whether all the capital—half of which is to come from the Government—has yet been subscribed.

22. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters, Iraq through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo, and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

V. G. LAWFORD.

E 12512/1013/34

No. 45

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR SEPTEMBER 1949

Mr. Lawford to Mr. Bevin. (Received 14th October)

(No. 360)
Sir,

Tehran,
10th October, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 324 of 13th September, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during September 1949. The Soviet Government, while maintaining their broadcast criticisms of the Persian Government, showed signs of wishing to give the impression that they were willing to

improve Persian-Soviet relations. There continued to be a good deal of vague talk about Islamic Union. The devaluation of the pound was not followed by that of the rial and led the Persian Government to express the opinion to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company that negotiations should be renewed with a view to the revision of the recently signed oil agreement. The elections for the Senate and the Majlis made

little progress. The Minister of Labour by supporting the attempt of Hidayat, a court parasite and ex-Majlis Deputy, to secure a monopoly for his puppet trade union, E.S.K.I., led to the temporary resignation of the Under-Secretary at his Ministry and prejudiced the chances of a sound development of labour relations. The Persian Government at last signed a contract with Overseas Consultants Incorporated for the supply of technical help and advice in the executive stage of the Seven-Year Plan.

Foreign Relations

2. By the end of the month there had been some outward improvement in Persian-Soviet relations, although the Soviet radio continued its campaign of vituperation against the Government of Persia. The Soviet Government returned the eleven Persian soldiers captured at Naftlije, as reported in paragraph 3 of my despatch under reference, while the Persians for their part did not pursue the idea of referring the frontier incidents to the United Nations. A contract was also signed and the necessary credit opened for the sale of 100,000 tons of Soviet wheat to a Persian merchant acting on behalf of the Persian Government: deliveries will be made direct to Tabriz by rail and also at Pahlavi. The Soviet Embassy agreed to start talks in Tehran about the implementation of the Caspian Fisheries Agreement, several of whose clauses have not in the past been observed by the Soviet Government. However, a Persian officer and two other ranks kidnapped as reprisals for three Soviet deserters not returned to the Soviet authorities remained in the Soviet Union, and the Persian Government has pursued its campaign to reduce Soviet influence in Persia with a decree which will enable it to close Soviet hospitals. They have also subjected the region of Simirum, the summer quarters of the Qashgai tribe, to the same regulations limiting the access of foreigners as are in force for frontier areas, and the Chief of the General Staff has declared that this too is directed against the Russians.

3. The Shah has been considering a suggestion emanating from King Abdullah of Jordan and the Regent of Iraq for a meeting between the various heads of Muslim States, with a view to the formation of some kind of Islamic bloc. His Majesty approached me for His Majesty's

Government's views on this proposal. It was announced that the King of Afghanistan would visit Tehran on his way to the United States, and after a visit to Kabul by the Director-General of Civil Aviation a Tehran-Kabul air service was established. A special envoy was sent to Saudi Arabia: though the purpose of his mission was not disclosed, he was known to carry a personal letter to King Ibn Sa'ud from the Shah. The Persian Government also appointed cultural attachés to their missions in the Arab States, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. Mr. Chaudry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, president of the Pakistan Muslim League, visited Tehran for a few days with the declared object of promoting a Union of Muslim States.

4. It was announced that the Shah would arrive in Washington, where he will be the President's guest, on 16th November and stay about a fortnight in the United States, touring industrial and public enterprises after a few days in Washington. At the beginning of the month a Cultural Convention between Persia and the United States was signed in Tehran its purpose was to implement the provision of the Fulbright Act whereby the sale proceeds of surplus United States war material are to be used to strengthen cultural ties between the United States and the purchasing country, and its most important result will be the despatch of Persian students on scholarships to the United States. The Ethiopian envoy to India, Mr. Abraham, visited Tehran to canvas Persian support for the proposed inclusion of large parts of Eritrea in Ethiopia. A number of Persian naval officers left for training in the United Kingdom, under the exchange of letters signed in London for the settlement of Persian naval claims against His Majesty's Government.

British Interests

5. The Persian Government pressed their demand, mentioned in paragraph 6 of my despatch under reference, for an advance of £6 million on account of sums due to them from the "General Reserves" of the Oil Company on ratification of the Supplemental Agreement. Their reluctance to accept the company's counter-offer of £5 million on account of royalties was explained by the fact that such an advance would, under the terms of the Seven-Year Plan Bill, not be available for balancing the ordinary budget. Moreover, it would

involve the payment of interest. This discussion was complicated by an unco-ordinated approach to the company by the Minister of Finance for a reopening of negotiations in view of the fact that in similar negotiations between the Iraq Petrol Company and the Iraqi Government the latter were reported to have been offered more favourable terms. The exact intention of the Persian Government had still not been clarified when the devaluation of the £ sterling led them to inform the company any myself that in their opinion devaluation had altered the basis of the Supplemental Agreement and necessitated a renewal of the negotiations.

6. The British Bank of Iran and the Middle East secured a copy of the draft exchange agreement which M. Ibtihaj had proposed to the Council of Ministers should be the basis for the bank's future exchange operations. If approved, the agreement would place the British Bank at his mercy and further restriction of their operations would result. Suitable amendments have been suggested to the Minister of Finance, who has undertaken to submit them to his colleagues, but the Council of Ministers seems reluctant to discuss the matter in M. Ibtihaj's absence. Meanwhile, the problem of the retention by the British Bank of 45 per cent. of the deposits it receives against credits opened abroad remains unsolved.

Internal Affairs

7. At the end of the month the completion of the Senate elections was still out of sight. A few Senators had been elected from the provinces, but the second stage of the elections in Tehran, from which are to come fifteen out of the thirty elective Senators, had not begun. The final results of the first stage elections, however, had appeared and showed several opposition politicians high up on the list.

8. Some Deputies for the Lower House of the Majlis (the National Consultative Assembly) have been returned for the provinces, but the date of the Tehran elections has not yet been fixed. It had been announced first that the elections would be delayed a month to enable voters to get photographs put on their identity cards, and later that any kind of document with a photograph would do. As the Shah has made known his intention of opening both Houses before he leaves for the United States it is possible that the Lower House may open without any Tehran Deputies.

9. The press has been full of accusations that the Senate elections have been improperly influenced and that the Lower House elections will be even more so. Those accused of interference have defended themselves vigorously—the Minister of the Interior and the United States Embassy in press conferences and the General Staff by a circular forbidding the military to interfere in any elections.

10. The impending elections led to certain Cabinet changes. M. Ganjeh'i, who, as reported in paragraph 10 of my despatch under reference, had only recently been appointed Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, resigned to stand for the Majlis and his place was taken by M. Sayyah, formerly Minister of Roads. General Yazdan Panah, a close friend of the former Shah and the present Shah's principal aide-de-camp, succeeded M. Sayyah as Minister of Roads. One of the Ministers without Portfolio, Dr. Tahiri, also resigned in order to stand for the Majlis, but his place in the Cabinet had not been filled by the end of the month. An interesting appointment was that of M. Bahram Shahrukh to be Director-General of Propaganda. M. Shahrukh, who is a Zoroastrian, broadcast for the Germans during the war from Berlin and has some knowledge of the technique of publicity.

11. At the end of the month there were congresses of employers and workmen to elect representatives to the High Labour Council. The Employers' Congress passed off without incident, and the men it appointed to the council were not unsuitable; but when the Labour Congress met it was clear that the Minister of Labour intended to support M. Khusrau Hidayat and his puppet trade union, E.S.K.I., in their attempt to take all the three seats allowed to Labour on the council. Representatives of independent unions and of the Oil Company workers were admitted to the congress, but when the leader of the Oil Company workers, Muhammadi, protested against the granting to E.S.K.I. of a monopoly of representation on the council he was accused by the Minister of Labour of disrespect to the Shah and, together with his followers, left the congress. The Minister of Labour thereupon gave orders for the dismissal of Dr. Bakhtiar, the Ministry's representative in Abadan, on the grounds that he should not have allowed Muhammadi to attend the congress. The

Under-Secretary of the Ministry, one of the most progressive and hard-working officials in Tehran, thereupon resigned, although his resignation was not accepted. This high-handed action by the Minister of Labour and the encouragement given to Khusrau Hidayat, who lacks the most elementary qualification for a trade union leader—that of being himself a working man—could possibly lead to labour unrest in the railways, at a moment when their efficiency is all important, and also in the oil fields and Abadan.

12. It was some time before the Persian Government seemed able to decide what measures to take as a result of the announcement of the devaluation of the £. Eventually, however, after telegraphic consultation with M. Ibtihaj, the governor of the Bank Melli, who was then in Washington, they decided not to devalue the rial in relation to the dollar and the mean official rate for sterling consequently fell to 91 rials. The official free market rate for sterling fell in exactly the same proportion, but on the black market sterling showed surprising strength, due partly, no doubt, to the demand for sterling for the pilgrimage (for which no dollars are granted) and also to a rush by Persian merchants to place orders in the United Kingdom before English prices rose, as it was expected they would do. Later on the Government expressed the view, as reported in paragraph 5 above, that fresh negotiations were required as regards the Supplemental Agreement with the Oil Company. The press was full of largely uninformed comment regarding the change in the exchange rate of the £, but the Government were able to give assurances that the sterling at present in Persia's accounts was protected by a gold revaluation clause. There could, however, be no effective answer to the criticism that the new rial-sterling rate would cripple Persia's exports to all countries whose currency had followed sterling and would subject Persian manufacturers to greatly increased competition from imported British goods.

13. At the end of the month the Seven-Year Plan Organisation and Mr. Max Thornburg signed a contract for the engagement of advisers from the Overseas Consultants Incorporated to last for a year with optional renewal. There will be a permanent staff in Tehran of up to twelve Resident Consultants, of whom seven will be provided forthwith. The miscellaneous and apparently unco-ordinated projects

hitherto undertaken by the Seven-Year Planning Board have already disposed of the definitely foreseeable revenues (about £12 million) of the Planning Organisation for the present financial year, which ends in March 1950. The organisation continued to group the subsidiary undertakings of the former Industrial and Mining Bank into large and autonomous units and publicly registered companies were formed to take over coal mines, cotton spinning and weaving factories and silk factories among others. Nothing more was heard of Prince Abdur Riza's relations with the organisation, but the Prince attended a meeting of the Supreme Council of the Organisation.

14. The purchases of wheat made abroad during the month, including the 100,000 tons to be supplied from the Soviet Union and mentioned in paragraph 2 above, were more than enough to fill the foreseeable gap between home collections and the country's needs, but the consignments have only just begun to reach Persia and local shortages caused bread riots in one or two places. Three hundred army lorries are to be used to bring Iraqi wheat direct to Azerbaijan, but it is likely that there will be a serious hold-up on the railways of the large quantities of wheat arriving from North America. Although Persia's sugar requirements have now been met by the purchases abroad, the supply of sugar in many of the provinces continues to be bad and prices remain high. The imports of sugar will further increase the congestion on the railways which is causing the Oil Company grave concern as they fear that they will be unable to meet the demand for oil products in the interior during the winter.

15. To avoid the distress caused last year to pilgrims by the inadequate care taken of them by rapacious transport companies, the Government decided that this year the Haj should only be made by air and passports were only issued to pilgrims on production of an air ticket. Some 2,500 pilgrims are believed to have flown direct to Jedda or to Beirut for onward journey by sea. The Iranian Airways Limited chartered aircraft from all conceivable foreign countries in order to carry this heavy traffic.

The Provinces

16. From Khuzistan it is reported that instructions have been given to Tudeh Party members to resume cell meetings: activity has been centred on the collection

of funds. Leaflets attacking the Majlis and Senate elections reproduced centrally in Tehran have also been distributed (similar leaflets are reported from Resht, carried thither by a member of the Education Department). A strike started in some of the Oil Company's restaurants, owing to the introduction of a new shift system, but collaboration between the Ministry of Labour's local representative, the company's industrial adviser and Muhammad, the trade union leader, brought it to an end. It is reported that six to seven Russian ships are approaching Khorramshahr, their principal cargo being cement. The change of Governor-General, reported in paragraph 17 of my despatch under reference, has been followed by a number of resignations, dismissals and new appointments of highly-placed officials in Khuzistan.

17. There are no signs of any fundamental improvement in the labour troubles in Isfahan. Some of the factories have paid arrears of wages out of loans given to them by the Government or profits which the Governor-General has compelled the owners to disgorge, but in others two to three months' wages are still outstanding, and settlement has been made all the more difficult by the fixing of the lower minimum wage, reported in paragraph 19 of my despatch under reference, since the workmen either refuse to accept payment or treat it only as payment on account. The commission from Tehran which, as reported in the same paragraph under reference, was to supervise the operation of the factories in Isfahan, had not yet arrived there on 15th September. The local E.S.K.I. trade union is said to be threatening a strike against the minimum wage, but it is not clear whether the threat is to be taken seriously. There is a renewed drive to bring the independent trade unions led by Amir Kaivan into E.S.K.I.

18. The rivalry between the Governor-General of Tabriz and the General Officer

Commanding, Marshal Shahbakhti, seems to have led to a temporary victory for the former, who has secured the recall to Tehran of the Deputy Governor-General and the Chief of Police, two of the marshal's chief supporters. The Governor-General is proceeding actively with his plans for the economic development of Azerbaijan and has secured approval for the purchase of twenty tractors for use in the Mughan steppe on the Persian-Soviet frontier.

19. All is not well with the Shishpir irrigation project reported in paragraph 21 of my despatch under reference, and it is possible that the whole scheme will be submitted to Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners for technical reconsideration (Gibb have not previously been consulted about it). It is confirmed that the capital for the Southern Fisheries Company, reported in the same paragraph, has not yet been subscribed and shares are at present on the market.

20. Difficulties are also being experienced in Isfahan with raising capital for the Turbine Company which is to provide the town of Isfahan and its factories with electric current. Over 120 million rials are needed to cover the credits opened abroad, and so far only 4 million rials have been subscribed. It is hoped that the Seven-Year Planning Organisation may be prepared to finance the remainder.

21. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo, and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

V. G. LAWFORD.

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR OCTOBER 1949

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bexin (Received 15th November)

(No. 391)
Sir,

*Tehran,
16th November, 1949.*

With reference to my despatch No. 360 of 10th October, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during October, 1949. There was little further improvement in Soviet-Persian relations, and the Persian Government continued their measures ostensibly to reduce Soviet influence: but it began to look as if these measures were, in reality, part of a general anti-foreign campaign. At home, political activity centred on the Majlis elections, which in the provinces, in spite of previous assurances to the contrary, were no freer than is usual in Persia. In Tehran, there was a seemingly unsuccessful campaign by certain demagogues to stir up popular feeling against the Government's conduct of the elections: but as the first and incomplete results of the counting showed the opposition candidates to be in the lead, the agitation may have attained its object. The Senate elections proved easier to manage, and none of the opposition candidates were elected, although their leader, Dr. Musaddiq, (1948 Personalities No. 97) had headed the poll in the first stage elections.

Foreign Affairs

2. There was little further improvement in Soviet-Persian relations. A request for the return to Persia of the gold lodged in Moscow during the war and for the payment of Soviet debts remained unanswered and the Minister for Foreign Affairs in a press conference drew attention to the continuance of propaganda hostile to Persia from official and clandestine radio stations on Soviet territory. No progress was officially reported after several meetings of a joint commission on the Caspian Fisheries agreement. As against this, Russian wheat began to reach Persia, though by the end of the month only 2,000 tons had arrived at Julfa and 1,000 tons at Bandar Pahlavi. A Persian-Soviet commission was formed in Tehran to discuss commercial exchanges between the two countries and a number of private transactions in Russian goods, especially cement, have been reported. The Persian Government published the correspondence on the question of consular

relations between the two Governments. In their introduction the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while rejecting any suggestion that the Persian Government were to blame for the recent rupture, expressed the hope that consular relations would soon be resumed.

3. The Persian Government continued their measures ostensibly designed to reduce Soviet influence by issuing a decree forbidding the publication by foreign diplomatic missions of news bulletins in Persian and another restricting the activity of foreign cultural institutes to Tehran and subjecting it to an irksome degree of Persian control. Neither of these measures will in fact seriously hamper the Russians and it is feared in some quarters that they may form part of a campaign to reduce foreign influence in general and may be due to Soviet pressure. Both my United States colleague and I have continued to issue our bulletins and have left unacknowledged the note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs communicating the text of the first decree. The Minister has himself advised me to instruct the British Council Representative to take no action on the second for the time being.

4. It was announced on 13th October that the Shah had accepted an invitation to visit Pakistan after his return from the United States. His Majesty was himself visited for a day by the King of Afghanistan, whom he urged to do all he could to settle Afghan differences with Pakistan. There have been other signs of Persian-Afghan rapprochement: the first flight of the Tehran-Kabul air service described in paragraph 3 of my despatch under reference landed at Kabul on 5th October, a team of Afghan footballers were much fêted in Tehran and it was announced that Persian newspapers could in future be imported into Afghanistan without difficulty.

5. As a result of the devaluation of sterling the £5,700,000 fixed as His Majesty's Government's payment for their use of the Persian railways during the war was increased to £8,266,676 and this sum has been paid into the Persian Government's account at the Bank of England. The Railway Administration have used £2 million of this amount to repay a loan from the

Bank Milli; the balance will be spent on badly needed equipment and materials. The Memorandum of Understanding whereby Persian sterling can be used to buy dollars for essential goods not available on competitive terms for sterling was prolonged for a further year. There were no fresh developments in the Persian Government's relations with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, but much interest was aroused by the arrival of three Venezuelans with the personal rank of ambassador who are touring the Middle East to investigate the production costs of Middle East oil and, conceivably, to encourage Middle East Governments to press for a larger share of oil company revenues and thus to increase the cost of Middle East oil and reduce its competitive advantage over Venezuelan. These gentlemen were entertained in the usual way and received by the Shah. The Minister of Finance informed the British Bank of Iran and the Middle East that the Cabinet had finally decided that the proportion of deposits against credits to be surrendered to the Bank Milli should be fixed at eighty per cent., instead of fifty-five per cent., as requested by the British Bank, and that the bank's foreign exchange business should be limited to £6,000,000 per annum. Such a restriction was unacceptable as it would result in a reduction of the bank's foreign exchange operations by about fifty per cent., but it seemed likely, at the end of the month, that a more satisfactory arrangement would be made.

6. Agreement was reached in principle on a transit trade agreement between Persia and Turkey. The Persian Government withdrew their Ambassador and his staff from China. The new Turkish Ambassador M. Yaqub Qadri Osmanoglu arrived in Tehran, and new Persian Ministers were appointed to Beirut and to Damascus, where previously the Persian Government only maintained a Counsellor subordinate to the Minister in Beirut. The Aga Khan, whose family and sect originate from Persia, applied for and was granted Persian citizenship, and the Shah conferred on him the title of Highness. The French Government presented the Shah with a light touring aircraft. A party of three Persian journalists visited Holland at the invitation of the Netherlands Government.

Internal Affairs

7. The Majlis elections continued throughout the month and by 31st October seventy-three deputies had been elected out

of a total of 136. Forty-four had been members of the previous Majlis and nearly all had been in the Constituent Assembly, the elections for which, as mentioned in paragraph 7 of my despatch No. 174 of 8th May, were a farce. In spite of the assurances given by the Government and the Shah that the present Majlis elections would be free, there seems no doubt that in the provinces they have been managed, though less efficiently, in the manner which is usual in Persia. Resentment at the discrepancy between promise and performance led to trouble in the provinces and to a short postponement of the Tehran elections. In several places there were acts of violence, followed by a suspension of the voting. A particularly shocking incident occurred at Lar (Fars) where Shiab-Sunni antagonism led to the death of at least six people. In certain other constituencies elections were suspended when it became clear that the Government's candidate would not be elected. There were reports of trouble throughout Azerbaijan, including Tabriz, and one of the Ministers without Portfolio flew there to investigate after all the members of the Supervising Committee had resigned. The month started badly for the Tehran elections with the resignation of a noted cleric, who declared he could not connive at the irregularities being committed; this charge was denied by the Committee's President, Muhammad Sadiq Tabataba'i. The trouble grew more serious on 12th October when a Committee of journalists under Dr. Musaddiq issued a manifesto attacking Government interference in the elections, and calling for a "deputation of protest" to the Shah on 14th October. This deputation led by Dr. Musaddiq himself and including some respectable men and ex-ministers, but without much of a crowd following it, duly took "bast" (sanctuary) at the Palace, where they were received by the Minister of Court, and given food and accommodation. Dr. Musaddiq then sent a letter to the Shah complaining of irregularities in the conduct of the elections. A detailed list of these was also issued and published in the press. The Shah eventually replied that no abuses, rather the reverse, had been reported to him from other sources. But, he said, the elections were being held under the old and defective Electoral Law, instead of the new one described in paragraph fifteen of my despatch No. 239 of 5th July, which the Majlis had failed to pass. Irregularities were therefore to be expected. This line

was also taken by the Government newspapers and the President of the Supervising Committee dealt in detail with the list of irregularities published by Dr. Musaddiq. Having received the Shah's reply on 17th October, Dr. Musaddiq and his followers left the palace on the following day. Meanwhile the elections had been postponed for three days, and a communiqué issued over the signature of the Prime Minister (then absent in France) defending the Government's conduct of the elections and warning agitators that it would not hesitate to use its full powers against them. The Chief of Police issued a similar communiqué, suggesting that the trouble-makers were connected with the Tudeh. The elections duly started on Monday 19th October and lasted for five days, during which a total of 69,000 votes were recorded. During the whole of this period, tireless loudspeakers mounted on cars patrolled the streets exhorting the population to vote for Dr. Musaddiq and his friends. The count had not been finished by 31st October, but it seemed clear that they would head the poll. It is impossible to say whether the authorities were cowed by Dr. Musaddiq's agitation into permitting this result, or whether they will find some way of nullifying it.

8. The Senate elections were completed on 29th October. Results from the provinces came in piecemeal throughout the month, and on 19th October the final results of the first-stage elections in Tehran were announced, the poll being headed by Dr. Musaddiq. When, however, sixty-three members of the Electoral College thus formed met to elect the fifteen Tehran Senators, neither Dr. Musaddiq nor any of his supporters were successful. This result had been widely expected and in fact Dr. Musaddiq was able to put his forecast, in a sealed envelope, in the hands of the President: when opened it was found to be correct, but for one name. The Tehran senators include such respected figures as MM. Hakimi, Taqizadeh, Najm and Matin-Daftari, besides more doubtful people such as Nikpur, the millionaire merchant, and Yamin Isfandiari, head of the Tehran Telephone Company, whose affairs seem to be in a state of constant confusion. On the whole, the elected senators are not below, though not much above, the Persian average of honesty and competence. The Shah has still, however, to nominate his thirty senators.

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9. On 13th October the Prime Minister who had been unwell for some weeks, left for Paris to receive medical treatment. It was widely believed that in fact his object was to be out of Tehran during the elections and so escape responsibility for them. He returned on 31st October. Another Minister, Jalal Inami, who was charged with the general surveillance of Azerbaijan affairs, followed M. Ganjeh'i, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and Dr. Tahiri, Minister without Portfolio, out of the Cabinet in order to stand for the Majlis. His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires was informed early in the month by the Minister of Court that Qavam-us-Sultaneh had secured the Shah's permission to return, but there was no sign of him by 31st October.

10. The Minister of Labour's attempt, reported in paragraph 11 of my despatch under reference, to give a monopoly of workers' representation on the High Labour Council to the puppet union ISKI was the subject of representations by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's Industrial Relations Officer, and of advice by His Majesty's Embassy. The Minister of Labour said he intended to make ISKI surrender one of their three seats to a representative of the independent unions, but nothing had transpired by the end of the month. M. Habib Nafisi resumed his work at the Ministry of Labour, but the wound seemed likely to be reopened as a result of the action of Dr. Bakhtiar, former Ministry of Labour Representative in Khuzistan who, after his dismissal by the Minister, went down to Abadan to stand for the Majlis. 10,000 workers went on strike in protest at what they held to be Government intervention against him, but although he was not elected the strike subsided after a day.

11. The Seven-Year Plan Organisation completed its task of regrouping the enterprises formerly under the Industrial and Mining Bank, though the radical changes needed in the personnel of these enterprises have not yet been made. Eight of the twelve Resident Consultants, provided for in Overseas Consultants Incorporated's contract with the Organisation, arrived in Tehran in the last week of October. The Swiss geophysicist, Professor Karl Heim, arrived in Tehran to advise the Persian Oil Company, whose foundation was described in paragraph 15 of my despatch No. 324 of 13th September, on their survey of North Persia. It is believed that as a

result they will limit themselves to a geographical review of the area and postpone exploration and drilling. The Seven-Year Plan added to its list of projects a diversion tunnel connected with the proposed Karaj dam. It also began, in co-operation with the Ministry of War, a scheme for the training of conscript soldiers in mechanised agriculture. Progress with the Tehran water supply was facilitated by bringing all the offices connected with it under a single head, and by a further loan by the Bank Milli. The Imperial Organisation for Social Services are to engage thirty to forty American and German doctors to run their dispensaries in the provinces.

12. Tudeh activity continues, particularly in the production and distribution of propaganda. In Tehran the Party newspaper, *Mardum*, is now appearing regularly as a weekly clandestine sheet, and leaflets and posters have also been appearing elsewhere, notably in Khorramshahr, Bander Pahlavi and Isfahan. The general line has been to attack the Government and the Western imperialists, and to encourage a boycott of the elections: for instance, in Khorramshahr Tudeh propaganda attacked the Government candidate and Dr. Bakhtiar, the workers' candidate, with equal violence, and also the Trades Union of Muhammadi, proclaiming that the Tudeh union remained the only genuine one in Persia and, a surprising concession to social democracy, that this latter union had the support of the International Labour Organisation. Exiled Tudeh leaders continue to return to Abadan from Tehran. From Kurdistan it was reported that Baku radio regularly commented on the smallest local events three days after they had happened, which seems to presuppose a clandestine wireless transmitter.

13. Owing to arrivals of wheat from Iraq and the Soviet Union, supplies were in general increasing towards the end of the month, though Iraqi arrivals were delayed by the refusal of the Iraqi authorities to allow the entry of the military lorries sent to collect the wheat from Erbil. Several cargoes of North American wheat arrived at southern Persian ports and these, together with the considerable imports of sugar, seriously aggravated the congestion in the ports and on the railways. The new Minister of Roads and Communications, General Yazdan Panah, displayed energy in dealing with the situation and succeeded in increasing the traffic movement by rail, especially in the case of sugar and oil, but

this improvement was short-lived as the railways could not stand up to the heavier pressure.

The Provinces

14. In spite of the slight increase in wheat supplies, the economic condition of the provinces continued to give rise to anxiety. Visitors to the Russian frontier reported that there was no food in Persian Astara, and that there was a danger of mass emigration to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by hungry peasants encouraged by Russian propaganda, and numerous refugees from Azerbaijan have arrived in Gilan. The battle for power between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief turned in favour of the latter, whom the Shah made responsible for wheat collection and for the general supervision of activities under the Seven-Year Plan in Azerbaijan. The Governor-General's tractors have however arrived in the Mughan steppe, and he has gained approval for a plan to buy up livestock there and send it to Khuzistan for the winter.

15. Industrial troubles continued in Isfahan. The big mill at Phahriza remained closed, and though five of the other mills agreed, under pressure from the ISKI trade union, to increase minimum wages from thirty-four to forty rials a day, they did not begin to pay wages at the new rates. Conditions among the workers on the Kührang tunnel were also bad, though it is not clear whether the Irrigation Corporation or the Norwegian contractors are to blame. The Shah instructed the Bank Milli to lend the Turbine Company (see paragraph twenty of my despatch under reference) 40 million rials, against a guarantee by the Seven-Year Plan Organisation. If this money is forthcoming, and the necessary foreign exchange obtained, the first boiler can be erected by March 1950.

16. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters Iraq through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo, and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

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No. 47

PERSIA: MONTHLY REPORT FOR NOVEMBER 1949

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 15th December)

(No. 424)

Tehran,

7th December, 1949.

Sir,
With reference to my despatch No. 391 of 10th November, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during November 1949. The Shah left for the United States of America, on the invitation of President Truman and with the object of obtaining economic and military help for his country. For reasons which are not yet entirely clear, the Persian Government decided to expel certain Iraqi subjects. The internal situation continued to deteriorate and it became clear that the Majlis elections had been a complete failure, and the Shah was unable to open Parliament before his departure. The Minister of Court was assassinated by a religious fanatic. All the resident consultants to be provided by Overseas Consultants Incorporated under their new contract with the Seven-Year Plan Organisation had arrived in Tehran by the end of the month.

Foreign Affairs

2. The Shah's journey to the United States, of which an account is given in paragraph 16 below, concentrated much attention on American-Persian relations. His Majesty, who takes a particular interest in military affairs, met a number of high-ranking United States Officers and visited military establishments. He emphasised that Persia needed military equipment to enable her to defend herself against possible aggression and play her part in the collective security of the Middle East. He considered, however, that a Middle East Pact similar to the Atlantic Pact would be premature, and he failed to respond to the anti-Russian note struck by Mr. Truman at the first of the official dinners. Subsequently, in a speech delivered to the General Assembly at Lake Success, His Majesty was at pains to emphasise Persia's desire for peace. He also told correspondents that Persian relations with the Soviet Union had improved recently and that he did not consider there was a serious danger of Soviet aggression against Persia, who wished for good relations with all her neighbours. Persia, he said, was in great need of economic help and he

recalled the explicit promises of assistance made in 1943, and also invited the investment of private United States capital in Persia. The Minister of Foreign Affairs had previously confirmed to me that the attraction of United States capital to Persia was a prime object of His Majesty's visit which, however, has been explained officially as an attempt to interpret Persia to the United States: with this end in view, no doubt, His Majesty made frequent references to Persia's past glories. On 20th November the Minister of Foreign Affairs announced that a Commercial Treaty was under discussion with the United States Government. This treaty, I understand, is identical with the establishment treaty which has been under consideration for some years. A party of Senators visited Tehran to investigate, in the space of two days, the use being made of the United States missions to the Persian army and gendarmerie, and of the United States military equipment recently supplied to Persia on credit.

3. By the end of the month Russian wheat to a total little short of 40,000 tons had arrived at Tabriz and Bander Pahlavi. At Lake Success M. Vishinsky renewed the Soviet accusation of March 1948 that the United States of America was maintaining military bases in Persia. Written and oral protests were made to the Soviet Embassy here in which the truth of these allegations was denied. The Government news agency also denied Soviet press reports that the Shah was negotiating a secret pact with the United States of America and that American oil companies were prospecting in Baluchistan. There was a minor frontier incident at Astara and another north-west of Ardabil. The Minister for Foreign Affairs referred again at a press conference to the Persian gold in Moscow, mentioned in paragraph 2 of my despatch under reference: (this gold, in fact, represents the equivalent of rials supplied to the Soviet forces during the war) and Persia's other financial claims arising out of the occupation. If paid in gold or dollars these sums would, of course, materially assist the Persian Government in meeting their foreign exchange requirements.

4. The Persian Government showed themselves sensitive to British press comment on the increase of sterling payments to Persia and on press reports of a deterioration in Anglo-Persian relations. As foreshadowed in paragraph 5 of my despatch under reference, an agreement allowing the British Bank of Iran and the Middle East £6 million of Government exchange besides their own purchases from exporters was concluded on 13th November with the Ministry of Finance. This agreement was unpalatable to the Governor of the Bank Melli, M. Ibtihaj, who from Switzerland instructed his officials not to sign it. On his return he at once tried to replace it with one more to his taste, and over his own signature. Meanwhile, Mr. Sa'id paid a short visit to London where he raised once more the question of the alleged incidence of United Kingdom taxation on the payments of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. This embassy, and His Majesty's Consulates have continued to produce and distribute news bulletins without interference, in spite of the decree mentioned in paragraph 3 of my despatch under reference. Nor has the British Council encountered any difficulty in continuing its activities as before, in spite of the other decree curtailing the scope of foreign cultural institutions. By an agreement recently concluded, the British Broadcasting Corporation and Radio Tehran are exchanging programmes.

5. Relations with Iraq have attracted some attention. The Persian Government were disappointed by the Iraqi Government's delay in dealing with the final delimitation of the frontier and the conclusion of the proposed conservancy convention for the Shatt-al-Arab; they themselves took action which seemed provocative when they introduced on 21st November financial regulations likely to reduce the flow of pilgrims to the Holy Places. Matters came to a head at the end of the month when an announcement was made by the Director-General of Propaganda that all Iraqi residents in Persia would be obliged to leave within fifteen days, in reprisal for alleged but undefined maltreatment of Persian pilgrims in Iraq. As the great majority of Iraqis in Persia are of Jewish race the Persian Government had difficulty in convincing the press that this measure was not anti-Semitic. In the event the police undertook to extend the time limit at their discretion.

6. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Jordan Minister signed, on 16th Nov-

ember, a Treaty of Friendship, as had been agreed during King Abdullah's visit recorded in paragraph 2 of my despatch No. 288 of 8th August. On 1st November it was announced that Civil Aviation Agreements had been signed with the Netherlands and Swedish representatives. The Minister for Foreign Affairs talked of impending Commercial Treaties with India and Afghanistan, and of the Persian Government's readiness to sign one with Pakistan. A delegation headed by a member of the Seven-Year Plan Organisation left for Karachi to attend the Pan-Islamic Economic Conference. During the month the Minister for Foreign Affairs announced that his budget would not allow him a representative at the Vatican, but expressed sympathy with the Pope's support of the cause of peace.

Internal Situation

7. The feebleness of the Government and the growing dissatisfaction with the present régime were tragically illustrated by the mismanagement of the elections and the murder of the Minister of Court, M. Hazhir, on 4th November. It soon became clear that there was no chance of the Shah opening Parliament, and even less of the installation of a more effective Government before His Majesty left for America. In many constituencies the elections dragged on, no doubt because the Governors-General concerned saw no chance of returning the Government candidates by fair or plausible means. In Tabriz the elections were at last ended, and the successful candidates notified to the Government, when the Supervising Committee had second thoughts, which the Minister of the Interior, however, refused to accept. But the decisive failure was at Tehran where, as recorded in paragraph 7 of my despatch under reference a group of opposition candidates was in the lead at the beginning of the month. Subsequently more acceptable candidates unaccountably sprang into the lead, headed by the President of the Supervising Committee himself. At this moment the Supervising Committee suspended the elections, burned all the voting papers and itself resigned.

8. Towards the close of the Muharram ceremonies, on Friday 4th November, M. Hazhir, the Minister of Court, was shot and severely wounded while attending a service in Tehran's largest mosque. He died next day. The murderer was a certain Imami who, with his brother and others in 1945 had murdered an anti-clerical

publicist. Imami, under cross-examination, steadfastly maintained his sole responsibility, stating, according to some reports, that he considered Hazhir bad for Persia and deserving death because he had allowed soldiers to fire, in June 1948, on a crowd headed by Sayyid Abul Qasim Kashani with a Qur'an. Those who arrested Imami were later attacked by gangs of roughs, pamphlets were distributed threatening reprisals against anyone injuring the prisoner and signed by a group calling itself the "Fida'is of Islam" (a title which recalls the assassins and the fighters for the Persian constitution) and it seems not unlikely that the murderer, and possibly some accomplices as well, were strongly under Kashani's influence, if not directly instigated by him. Kashani himself is still in exile in the Lebanon. Martial law was at once declared, and a number of arrests, including three of the opposition group mentioned in paragraph 8 above, were made, but most were later released. There has been no serious suggestion of Tudeh complicity and Tudeh propaganda has interpreted the assassination as an effect of Anglo-American rivalry. On the morning of the Shah's departure it was announced that Ibrahim Hakimi, a former Prime Minister and a member of the Regency Council, had been appointed to succeed M. Hazhir. The luckless Chief of Police, Brigadier Saffari, whose spells of office have coincided with two other sensational acts of political violence, was forced to resign. On 9th November Imami, who refused to appeal against the verdict of the Military Court, was hanged.

9. Before the Shah left for America two Ministers without Portfolio were appointed—MM. Nakha'i, a former Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, and Tihrani, for one month Minister without Portfolio in Qavam's last Cabinet. The Minister of Agriculture resigned, ostensibly on grounds of health, but his place was not filled. The Director-General of Propaganda, M. Shah-rukh, whose appointment was mentioned in paragraph 12 of my despatch No. 360, was forced to take leave of absence, due to a difference with the Minister for Foreign Affairs over the expulsion of Iraqi subjects mentioned above.

10. On 7th November Qavam-us-Saltaneh returned to Tehran. He is not in good health and is reported to be taking no active part in politics.

11. In addressing the Persian colony in Washington, the Shah stated that the Royal

estates confiscated by his father and recently handed to Princess Ashraf's Organisation for Social Services should be sold on easy terms to the peasants, and other Crown lands distributed free. He also said that large private estates should be bought by the Government and sold to the peasants.

12. The Seven-Year Plan Organisation engaged a British expert to advise on forestry and soil conservation, and was authorised by the Council of Ministers to engage two more. At the beginning of the month Dr. Nafisi, Executive Director of the Organisation, returned from a visit to South-East Persia and at a press conference emphasised the potential importance of Bandar Abbas as a port, if its harbour facilities and communications were improved, and the potentialities of its fisheries. He later went touring in the province of Fars. It was announced that a special commission for the revival of Southern Persian ports would be formed in the Ministry of Roads. A number of German and Austrian doctors and nurses engaged by the Imperial Organisation for Social Services to run their provincial establishments arrived in Persia. A step towards decentralisation of administration was taken by the bringing into force of a measure enacted by the last Majlis providing for the election of local councils in the provinces: these councils will have a voice in the appointment of mayors, who are at present appointed directly by the Ministry of the Interior and are seldom local people.

13. On 28th November it was announced that the Government had bought 270,000 tons of foreign wheat this year, of which over 100,000 tons had already arrived, from the United States, the Soviet Union, Iraq and Pakistan. Grain collections in the Kermanshah province, one of the producing areas, have been below half those made in a normal year, and in Meshed, the centre of another great producing area, the Governor-General has had to ask Tehran for wheat. 150,000 tons of sugar have now been bought from abroad, but there has so far been no general increase in distributed supplies or fall in price. After an initial spurt following the appointment of General Yazdan Panah as Minister of Communications, the railways' performance has fallen again and distributed stocks of petroleum products have decreased and are expected to be at dangerous low levels in the New Year.

14. The clandestine production and distribution of Tudeh material is increasing. *Mardum* now appears regularly once a week as a well printed single sheet, and has a nominal price of more than twice the cost of other newspapers. Copies of it have reached the factories at Isfahan, where the Party has begun to form cells again, and has secured the release of several people previously arrested and the continued liberty of others, it is suspected by bribing the former Military Governor. In Gilan several senior officials are reported to be under Tudeh influence, and in Khurasan crypto-Tudeh candidates have presented themselves for election; officially the Party has boycotted the elections.

15. On 22nd November it was announced that M. Habib Nafisi, Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Labour, whose differences with the Minister were described in paragraph eleven of my despatch No. 360 of 10th October, had taken six weeks' leave. As a result of his injudicious communications to the press, M. Nafisi was later dismissed by the Minister. The High Labour Council, the elections for which were also described in paragraph 11 of my despatch No. 360, met at the close of the month but had not by 30th November got beyond inaugural speeches in praise of the Shah and a debate on its own procedural rules. A seat on the Council had, eventually, been offered to the

Anglo-Iranian Oil Company workers who, however, rejected it.

The Royal Family

16. Two days before the Shah left Tehran on 15th November on board Mr. Truman's personal plane, the composition of the Council of Regency was announced. It includes Princes Ali Riza, Ghulam Riza and Abdur Riza, the Prime Minister, Mr. Hakimi, Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Tabataba'i, and the Shah's principal private secretary.

17. Princess Ashraf left unexpectedly for Europe on 27th November. It was expected that the Queen Mother would also be leaving for Europe shortly, and that both she and the Princess would remain abroad for several months.

18. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo, and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

E 11014/1012/34

No. 48

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN PERSIA

Mr. Lawford to Mr. Attlee. (Received 9th September)

(No. 319. Confidential) *Tehran.*
Sir, *6th September, 1949.*

With reference to Mr. Cresswell's despatch No. 232 of 28th June, 1948, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a list of personalities in Persia revised up to 1st June, 1949.

I have, &c.

V. G. LAWFORD.

Enclosure

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1. Adham, Dr. Abbas (Alam-ul-Mulk)

Born in 1882, son of Mirza Zain-ul-Abidin Khan (Lugman-ul-Mamalik). Is a native of Azerbaijan. Educated in Persia and at Paris University where he studied medicine. Did post-graduate work in France. Minister of Health under Hazhir in June 1948 and again under Sa'id when he reshuffled his Cabinet in March 1949.

Was previously head of the School of Medicine in Tehran and is still head of the Razi Hospital. He is also a court physician. Speaks French and Turki. His daughter is married to Nusratullah Montassir of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

2. Adl, Ahmad Husain

Born in Tabriz c. 1895, son of the late Adl-ul-Mulk and younger brother of Mustafa Adl (Mansur-ul-Mulk). Educated partly in France.

Rose to the rank of Director-General in the Ministry of Agriculture in March 1942, which post he held until February 1943. He was then tried in the Officials Court on charges of misappropriation of funds but was acquitted. Appointed to the Supreme Economic Council in April 1945; he became Minister of Agriculture again in November that year. Again Minister of Agriculture under Qavam in June 1947. He was associated with the Seven-Year Plan under Dr. Nafisi and took his place as chairman of the Provisional Organisation of the Seven-Year Plan in January 1949, until May 1949 when he was appointed a member of the Supreme Council of the Plan.

Speaks French and a little English.

3. Adl, Mustafa (Mansur-us-Saltaneh)

Born in Tabriz about 1885. Went to Egypt when quite young. There he finished his primary education and afterwards went to Paris. In Paris he studied law, and graduated from the Faculty of Law in that city. Secretary at the consulate at Tiflis in 1903. At the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for a short period, and then transferred to the Ministry of Justice. Appointed a member of the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission in 1913. Since then employed principally as Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice until 1927. He became in that year legal adviser to the Ministry and drafted a number of new judicial codes. A member of the Supervisory Board of the National Bank from 1929-32; in 1933 Director of the Legislation Department of the Ministry of Justice, and professor in the Law Academy at Tehran.

Appointed Persian Minister at Berne in 1934. Recalled to Tehran December 1936. Political Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs March 1937. Under-Secretary July 1937. Acting

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Minister March 1938. Minister at Rome July 1938 and also accredited to Budapest September 1938.

Returned from Rome late in 1941. Director of the Faculty of Law 1941. Minister of Education in Suhaili's Cabinet March to August 1942. He was not conspicuous for help to the Allied cause in 1942. He was, however, appointed Minister without Portfolio in Suhaili's Cabinet January to March 1944 and again in Sa'id's Cabinet from March to August 1944, when, on the reconstruction of the Cabinet, he was dropped. Minister of Justice in Bayat's Government of November 1944 and again Minister without Portfolio in Sadr's Cabinet of June 1945. Delegate to U.N.O. January 1946.

Minister of Justice and later Minister without Portfolio under Qavam June to December 1947. Minister without Portfolio in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947 and again under Hazhir in 1948. In February 1949 he joined Sa'id's Cabinet in the same capacity and assumed direction of the Ministry of Labour in May.

A quiet man without much personality. A good bridge player. Speaks French.

4. Afshar, Riza

Born at Urumich (now Riza'iyeh) about 1888. Joined the Ministry of Finance as a young man, and during Mirza Kuchik Khan's rebellion in Gilan acted as financial agent to him; and soon after the war he got away with certain funds from the Finance Office in Resht. With these he brought carpets and took them to America for sale. Served also under Sir P. Cox, who paid him well. Returned to Persia in 1921, full of American ideas and education. Joined the staff of Dr. Millspaugh, the American financial adviser. A staunch supporter of the Pahlavi régime; elected to the 5th, 6th and 7th Majlis. Opposed Firuz Mirza when the latter was Minister of Finance. Governor of Gilan in 1929. While at that post he organised the Gilan Import and Export Company, which was founded in opposition to Russian trade monopoly methods. As a result he incurred the hostility of the Russian interests there. Governor-General of Kerman in 1931. Minister of Roads in February 1932. Resigned in the following July, being unable to build the Chalus road fast enough for the Shah. Governor of Isfahan September 1932 to December 1933. Since then unemployed. Was put under surveillance in Tehran in 1935 owing to supposed inefficiency (perhaps complicity) in connexion with the Bakhtiari plots in 1934. Sentenced to six months' imprisonment and permanent exclusion from Government service in June 1936 for accepting a bribe when Minister of Roads.

Governor-General of Isfahan May-June 1944 until Supreme Court of Appeal decided he was ineligible for office on the grounds of the sentence passed on him in 1936. Secretary to the Iranian Airways December 1944.

Speaks English fluently. Full of ideas and energy. Very nationalistic. Said to be somewhat anti-British and anti-religious.

5. Ala, Husain, C.M.G. (Mu'in-ul-Vizareh)

Born about 1884. Son of the late Prince Ala-es-Saltaneh, for many years Persian Minister in London. Educated at Westminster School, where he seems to have received rough treatment, which resulted in a strong anti-British bias, at any rate for the next few years. Created C.M.G. in 1905, when he accompanied his father on a special mission to London for the Coronation of the late King Edward VII. Appointed "chef de Cabinet" in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1906, his late father being then Minister for Foreign Affairs. He remained as "chef de Cabinet" to various Ministers until 1915. Appointed Minister of Public Works in January 1918, and continued to direct that Ministry during the Cabinet

presided over by Samsam-us-Saltaneh, which was in power from May to August 1918. This Cabinet abrogated the Treaty of Turkmanchai.

After accompanying the abortive Persian mission to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918, he became minister at Madrid (1919) and then at Washington (1920). Returning to Persia in 1925 he alternated office at home with headship of missions abroad, being minister at Paris 1929 to 1933 and at London 1934 to 1936. President of the National Bank in 1941 and Minister of Court 1942.

Appointed ambassador to Washington in August 1945 when status of Persian Legation there was raised to that of an embassy. Was very active in giving publicity in the United States to the Persian case over the Azerbaijan problem and showed ability in presenting Persia's case to the Security Council.

Married Fatimeh Khanum, the only daughter of the late Abu'l Qasim Khan Qaraguzlu (Nasir-ul-Mulk), Regent of Persia, in July 1927. Mme. Ala was one of the first of her generation to leave off the veil.

A hard worker and a staunch patriot; intelligent and well-read; interested in the literature of many countries and quite a good pianist. Has a perfect command of English and speaks good French. In the past he has had a reputation for anti-British sentiments. In 1943 and 1944, however, his relations with the British Legation were good; he seems a good deal more anti-Russian than anti-British, and is doubtless more pro-Persian than either. He is a sensitive Persian Nationalist who realises the failings of his fellow-countrymen.

6. Alam, Asadollah

Born c. 1920. Son of the late Shaukat-ul-Mulk, who was hereditary Khan of Birjand and the Qa'inat, he has inherited much of his father's influence over the Baluchi tribes of East Persia. In 1947 appointed Governor-General of Persian Baluchistan, Deputy for Birjand in the Constituent Assembly April 1949.

Friendly, intelligent and helpful. Married to a daughter of Qavam-ul-Mulk. Speaks good English and French.

7. Alavi, Dr. Hasan

Born 1910 in Shiraz. Studied medicine in Bombay and London where he held post of ophthalmic surgeon at St. Thomas's Hospital and at other English hospitals. He was recalled to Persia by Riza Shah in 1938 and appointed Court Physician and consulting specialist to the Persian army. In March 1947 he was promoted to brigadier (honorary).

Hard-working and staunch patriot; intelligent and well-read with a perfect command of English. A sensitive Persian Nationalist who deprecates the failings, especially peculation, of his countrymen. A great admirer of British institutions, he helped to found the United Kingdom Universities' Society of the Anglo-Persian Institute. Has considerable private practice and is commonly acknowledged to be the best ophthalmic surgeon in Persia. In conversation inclined to be dogmatic and self-opinionated.

A friend of the Shah, it was on his insistence, he says, that he stood for Bushire for which he was elected to the Constituent Assembly April 1949. He is a staunch supporter of Sayyid Zia-ud-Din.

8. Amini, Dr. Ali

Fourth son of Muhsin Amini (Amin-ud-Dauleh). Born at Tehran in 1903. Educated in Persia and in France. Studied law at Paris. Married one of the daughters of Hasan Vusuq (Vusuq-ud-Dauleh). Served for some years in the Customs Administration; appointed acting head of Customs about May 1936 and (1939) head thereof until the autumn, when

General Amir Khusruvi had him transferred to the Ministry of Finance as one of the Minister's assistants.

Secretary to Qavam-us-Saltaneh when Prime Minister in 1942. Appointed as head of a commercial mission to Washington by the latter, but did not proceed.

Was sent by the Persian Government to India in 1945 to study the possibilities for developing trade between India and Persia and to examine the foreign exchange control question. Chairman of the board of directors of the Industrial Bank November 1946. Member of Democrat Party of Iran. Elected to 15th Majlis for Tehran.

Speaks French and is intelligent. Accused by his enemies of various kinds of peculation and sharp practice. An agreeable and usually helpful representative of the younger school.

9. Amir Ahmadi, Ahmad, General (Sipahbud)

Born in Tehran about 1880. Comes from an Ardibil family, his forbears having emigrated from the Caucasus. Enlisted in the Cossack Brigade in 1899 and received speedy promotion; he was soon commissioned, and was a general in 1920. Took a prominent part in operations against the Jangalis in 1919. When the army was reorganised in 1922 he was given the rank of Amir Lashgar (chief of a division) and held successively commands in West, North-west (with Amniah) and South-west Persia where he did good work in disarming the tribes up to 1933. Promoted Sipahbud in April 1929. Director of Remounts 1935.

Minister of War in Furughi's Cabinet, which negotiated the Tripartite Treaty in 1942. Military Governor of Tehran with wide powers to suppress the rioting in December 1942; and then Minister of War under Qavam-us-Saltaneh and Suhaili. Resigned December 1943 when Suhaili re-formed his Cabinet and at the Shah's instance appointed Zand, a civilian, as Minister of War. Refused command of the southern division as he considered he would not be properly supported in Tehran in that appointment. Suspected by the Russians and disliked by the Shah and Yazdan-Panah for his attempt to insist on the authority of the Ministry of War and to limit the Shah's intervention in matters of command and administration. Ambitious and always hopeful of becoming Prime Minister. Though his record of bribe-taking and his sketchy education do not make him a satisfactory candidate for a head of Government, he has shown himself a man of action and determination in times of crisis, and has been very friendly to us since Riza Shah's departure. Minister of War in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946. Resigned July 1947. Appointed Minister of the Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet March 1948 and Minister of War under Hazhir June 1948, and again under Sa'id November 1948.

Speaks Russian. His accumulated wealth and large properties appear to have satisfied his desires, so that he seems to have got over his youthful inclination towards robbery. He is strongly opposed to General Razmara.

10. Amir Ala'i, Shams-ud-Din

Born about 1896. Senior official in the Ministry of Agriculture until his appointment as Acting Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh February 1946. Appointed Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August and again in October 1946. Dropped when the Cabinet was re-formed in June 1947. Quiet, ineffective little man with no great administrative capabilities, but will always do what he is told.

11. Amiri, Javad

Born in Tehran 1895, from a Simnan family. Educated in Persia and France. Speaks French, and

has studied law in Paris. Entered the service of the Ministry of Justice in 1914, and was for many years assistant to the French judicial adviser attached to the Ministry of Justice. Was a professor in the law school. In 1928 appointed president of the Tribunal of Commerce. President of the court of first instance in Tehran 1931-34. Director of the Department of Legislation in the Ministry of Justice in 1934. Went to Bagdad with Fathullah Nuri Isfandiari in December 1935 as legal and technical adviser in the abortive negotiations about the frontier, &c., with Iraq. Juridical Counsellor in charge of the Advisory Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1938. Administrative Director-General August 1938 and Under-Secretary January 1939 in that Ministry.

In charge of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at the time of the invasion 1941. Minister of the Interior in Suhaili's Cabinet 1942, and later Minister of Justice; in the former post he was a disappointment, in the latter he was more at home but was soon replaced. Elected to the 14th Majlis from Simnan, December 1943. Re-elected to 15th Majlis 1947. Deputy for Simnan in Constituent Assembly April 1949.

Accompanied Qavam-us-Saltaneh on his mission to Moscow in February 1946.

A man of considerable influence and importance in his capacity as technical adviser on legislation. Having been trained by the French legal advisers here, his ideas of law are somewhat different from those held by British lawyers.

Conscientious and hard-working, with a lawyer's capacity for rapid assimilation of detail. Amiable but weak.

12. Amir-Taimur Kalali, Muhammad Ibrahim

Born about 1895. Member of a well-known Khorasan tribe. Educated in Tehran. Elected to the Majlis in the time of Riza Shah, and again for Meshed in the 14th Majlis elections 1943 where he headed the poll. Vice-President of the Majlis 1944.

A rich landowner who smokes opium. Was on Foundation Committee of Irano-Soviet Cultural Relations Society March 1944.

In 1945 he showed an inclination to turn to the Embassy for support against Russian pressure.

Arrested August 1946 under Military Law Ordinance. Released after a short detention. Elected Deputy for Meshed in 15th Majlis 1947. Represented Meshed in Constituent Assembly April 1949.

A talkative demagogue, fond of working himself into passionate indignation about subjects which he does not understand. For instance, he opposed the Tripartite Treaty and caused the Furughi Cabinet a great deal of trouble. But he is amenable to argument, and, though vain, is not entirely without good ideas.

13. Ansari, Abdul Husain Mas'ud

The eldest son of the late Ali Quli Ansari (Mushavir-ul-Mamalik). Born 1899. Educated at Tehran and in Europe. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1920. Served for a number of years in the Persian Embassy in Moscow as secretary, and his rapid promotion is largely due to his father's influence. Counsellor at Moscow in 1927 and held that post till he was transferred to Tehran in 1931. Head of the Economics Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in September 1933. Went to Germany as a member of the Persian Economic Mission to Germany in July 1935. Head of the Third Political Section (dealing with British affairs) 1936. Head of the Protocol Department November 1937. Consul-general, Delhi, May 1938. Minister to Sweden 1941. Returned to Tehran in 1944 and was appointed head of the Tripartite Pact Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Vice-president of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society

March 1945. Appointed Governor-General of Gilan November 1945. Transferred to Isfahan October 1947. While Governor-General of Isfahan was markedly friendly to His Majesty's Consul and to the British Council there. He was always ready to furnish information to His Majesty's Consul and did not pretend to favour the "balanced" foreign policy *vis-à-vis* Russia and the West. Not a strong Governor-General, he made no secret of his wish to get back to diplomatic life. His smooth manner and lack of interest in local politics alienated some of the people among whom he worked. Speaks excellent Russian and French, German and fair English.

Married a Russian in Moscow; the lady was suspected of being a spy; she died in Berlin in 1936 leaving one child, a boy. Married a Persian in 1937.

14. Ansari, Ghulam Ali, Brigadier (Sartip)

Born about 1890, of a military family in Isfahan. Educated in France—was private in French army and later trained at Fontainebleau Artillery School. Soon earned a reputation for honesty and energy in the army. Military attaché at Washington 1917-18. Then studied at Ecole de Guerre in France and passed with distinction. Removed from army in 1937 by Riza Shah, rejoined in 1941. Director of Artillery November 1941. Commandant of the Officers' School June 1942. Assistant to General Greely, United States army, when adviser to the Ministry of War August 1942. Under-Secretary of War September 1943-April 1944. Head of Baluchistan Inspection Commission November 1944. Deputy Chief of General Staff January 1945; dismissed when Qavam came into power February 1946. Inspector in the Ministry of War April 1946. Was a close associate of General Arfa before Arfa was arrested in April 1946, since when he has been the target for much abuse in the Russian-controlled section of the press. A patriot with anti-Russian sentiments. Honest, hard-working and serious. Unpopular in army because of a rough tongue, a strong temper and an uncompromising mind.

Retired from the army about two years ago. Married to a daughter of Abdul Husain Shaibani (Vahid-ul-Mulk).

15. Aramish, Ahmad

Born about 1902. Has held various Government posts. June 1944 was in charge of all Accounts Departments in the Ministry of Finance factories. Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry June 1946—resigned September 1946. Set up the Labour Inspection administration in Khuzistan in June 1946 and became Secretary-General to the Democrat Party of Iran July 1946. Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister October 1946 when he resigned his secretaryship of the Democrat Party of Iran. Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry late October 1946. Minister of Labour and Propaganda December 1946. Whilst Minister of Labour and Propaganda was strongly opposed by many of his Cabinet colleagues because of his efforts to collect party funds by irregular means which he was suspected of turning to his own advantage. His Ministry's programme of social reform was also extremely unpopular with certain Right-wing members of his party.

Omitted when Qavam re-formed his Cabinet in June 1947.

Affable and energetic but unreliable, immature and lacking political sense. Speaks fair English and French.

16. Arasteh, Nadir

A Qajar prince. Born about 1893. Governor of Pahlavi in 1928. Deputy-Governor of Azerbaijan in 1930-32. Governor of Khuzistan May 1932-August 1933. Has also served in the Persian Legation in London. Appointed minister to Poland

December 1933. Appointed first Persian Minister to the Argentine Republic August 1935; presented his letters in October 1935. Recalled to Tehran October 1936; the post being abolished. In charge of the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for a short while in 1937. Minister at Berlin August 1937. Accredited also to The Hague in 1939. Recalled from Berlin May 1940. Governor-General of Mazandaran January 1942 and of Gilan January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs November 1944 in Bayat's Government and for Communications under Hakimi in May 1945 and then in Sadr's Cabinet June to November 1945. Appointed Governor-General, Isfahan, May 1946, withdrawn October 1946.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Hazhir June 1948, retained the portfolio under Sa'id November 1948, but exchanged it for that of Roads in March 1949.

Appointed ambassador at Moscow April 1949 but had not proceeded by 1st June.

Of unimpressive appearance, but friendly, intelligent and fairly competent. Speaks French.

17. Ardalan, Dr. Ali Quli

Born about 1900; brother of Amanullah Ardalan. Served mostly under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in various posts from 1922. Secretary at Washington 1932 where he had a dispute with Ghaffar Jalal, the Minister. Counsellor at Vichy after the collapse of France in 1940. Returned to Tehran 1942 and was in charge of the English Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for more than a year, fulfilling his duties with efficiency. Counsellor at Angora 1943. Under-Secretary for Ministry for Foreign Affairs in December 1948.

Speaks English. Very helpful to us at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

18. Ardalan, Amanullah (Haji Izz-ul-Mamalik)

Born about 1888. Son of Haji Fakhr-ul-Mulk of Kurdistan. Educated at Tehran. Elected a Deputy to the 2nd Majlis through the influence of his father, when the latter was Governor of Arabistan. Served first in the Ministry of Finance. An active member of the Democratic Party and elected to the 3rd Majlis from Kermanshah. A pro-German during the war of 1914-18, he left Persia for Turkey at that time. After the war he became financial agent for Kerman through bribing Akbar Mirza, the Minister of Finance, and made a good thing of that post. Financial agent for Fars 1922-23. A member of the 5th Majlis. A close friend of Sulaiman Mirza and the Socialists. Minister of Public Works in Sardar Sipah's Cabinet of October 1923. Resigned April 1924. Again employed under the Ministry of Finance in Kerman and Fars. Governor of Astarabad 1928; of Luristan, &c., in 1932, of Gilan in 1933, and again of Luristan in 1934, of Bushire and the Gulf Ports 1935; and Governor-General of Kerman in May 1936. Recalled in August 1937.

Governor-General of Azerbaijan (West) at the time of the invasion 1941; fled precipitately to Tehran when the Russians advanced, fearing that revenge would be taken on him for various anti-Russian measures which he had been ordered to take. Then Director-General of Ministry of Finance and Governor of Isfahan in 1942. Minister of Public Health in Suhaili's Cabinet of February 1943. Minister of Finance in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Commerce and Industry in Sa'id's Cabinet March 1944, but dropped in August 1944. Returned to Cabinet under Bayat in November 1944, resigned April 1945. Minister of Justice in Hakim's Cabinet November 1945 to January 1946. Appointed Minister of Roads and Communications in Hakimi's Cabinet March 1948.

Governor-General, Fars, June 1948. Appointed Minister of Finance in Hazhir's Cabinet of June 1948 but declined to leave Fars. Deputy for Sanandaj (Kurdistan) in Constituent Assembly April 1949.

Has been very helpful to us since 1941. Speaks some English. An intelligent and progressive person, though not over-scrupulous when it comes to taking money.

19. Ardalan, Nasir Quli

Born in Tehran 1896. Third son of the late Haji Fakr-ul-Mulk, who was a court official; his mother is the daughter of Izz-ud-Dauleh and granddaughter of Muhammad Shah. Educated at Tehran and in Belgium. Spent a year in London learning English. Returned to Persia 1915 and entered the service of the Ministry of the Interior, where he served for fifteen years. Served at Governor of Daudangh in Mazandaran, of Firuzkuh, and in Khuzistan as Acting Governor. Then was Governor of Sari, Acting Governor of Mazandaran and Governor of Simnan. Governor of Muhammerah (Khorramshahr) in 1925, and Governor of Abadan in 1930. Employed in the National Bank since 1931.

Elected Deputy for Sinneh in the Majlis elections of December 1943. Deputy for Sanandaj in 15th Majlis 1947. Intelligent and capable.

20. Arfa', Hasan, Major-General (Surlashgar)

Born about 1890, the eldest son of the late Prince Riza Arfa (Arfa-ud-Dauleh). Educated in Russia and France: his mother, now mentally deranged, being a Caucasian. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1907 as secretary to the Persian Consulate at Tiflis. Secretary at the Persian Legation at St. Petersburg in 1908. Joined the gendarmerie in 1911; and has been in the army since then. Commanded the crack cavalry "Pahlavi" Regiment in 1931. Has served as military attaché in London for a short time, and has been a prominent officer in the new army. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in 1934. In 1935 on the General Staff, in charge of a training school. Persian delegate to the Zahidan Conference in 1935, where, no doubt under strict orders, he took an extremely nationalistic and anti-British standpoint.

Officially attended Ataturk's funeral in 1938. Promoted brigadier-general April 1939. Inspector of Cavalry 1942. Commanding the 1st Division 1943.

Appointed Chief of the General Staff December 1945. Worked hard to resist "Tudeh" activities and had some success in organising resistance to the Azerbaijan Democrats and their independent Government in Tabriz. In consequence, he incurred enmity of the pro-Russian groups and when Qavam took office in February 1946 with the task of restoring good relations with Russia, Arfa was at once relieved of his post. Arrested April 1946 by order of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Released October 1946. In 1947 started "Asia Society" aiming at co-operation between Middle East States.

Speaks French, English, Turkish and Russian. He is married to an Englishwoman, *née* Bewicke. Intelligent and outspoken but at times rather a firebrand. He has been most careful to avoid the limelight since his release.

21. As'ad, Muhammad Taqi (Amir-i-Jang)

Born about 1906, son of the late Sardar As'ad; a Bakhtiari Khan imprisoned with other tribal leaders under Riza Shah, released in September 1941. Owns properties near Dizful from where he was elected Deputy for the 14th Majlis. Was from the beginning one of the most loyal supporters of Sayyid Zia. Claims to have influence over Kurds because he had been sympathetic to Kurdish and other tribal leaders when in prison with them. Extremely friendly to the British.

Honest, patriotic and much opposed to the spread of Soviet influence.

22. Asadi, Salman

The eldest son of the late Muhammad Vali Asadi, mutawalli of the shrine at Meshed, who was shot for treason in 1935. Born about 1896. Educated at the American College, Tehran; spent a few years also at Cambridge and in London; speaks English. Owing to his father's influence elected to the Majlis as member for Sistan for the seventh and eighth sessions.

Served for a short time in the News Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as a translator. In charge of the Department of Propaganda 1941 to March 1942. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Food 1942 and worked hard to ensure the food supply of Tehran with Mr. Sheridan in the famine winter of 1942-43. Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Finance and head of the Rice Monopoly April 1944. Member of Economic Section of Qavam's Mission to Moscow February 1946. Appointed chairman of the Industrial Bank October 1946. Minister of Labour June to September 1947. Elected to 15th Majlis for Meshed.

Pleasant, well read and intelligent; but an intriguer and rather lazy. Blatantly indiscreet and given to mis-statement and flattery. At one time he aspired to act as an intermediary between the Shah and Qavam, but since Qavam left the country at the end of 1948 he has been unable to conceal the fact that he is working for Qavam's return to power.

23. Ashrafi, Ghulam Hussain

Related to Ali Suhaili.

After being Director-General Ministry of Commerce and Industry he became Under-Secretary of State in Prime Minister's office. A member of the National Bank Supervisory Board 1945. Appointed Governor-General, Khurasan, and Deputy Guardian of the Shrine at Meshed in July 1946; was recalled when the two posts were separated in April 1948. Minister of National Economy under Hazhir in September 1948, and again under Sa'id in November 1948.

Speaks good French. Intelligent and progressive but lacking in force.

24. A'zam-Zanganeh, Dr. Abdul Hamid

Born at Kermanshah about 1899, of a well-known family; his half-brother being Amir-i-Kull. Educated at Tehran in the Law School and the Political School. Went to Paris 1929 and obtained a doctorate in law and economics, his thesis being on oil; has also been in England. 1935 returned to Persia and was employed in the Ministry of Education; professor in the Law School. Also a pleader in the Court, mostly in mortgage-bank business and in agricultural cases. Co-editor with Dr. Suragar of the newspaper *Iran Javan* (no longer appearing). Deputy for the 14th Majlis for Kermanshah when he seemed to regard himself as elected by the personal order of the Shah.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary to Hakimi December 1947, joined Sa'id's Cabinet as Minister of Education in December 1948. Dean of the Faculty of Law, Tehran University.

A small and quiet-spoken man; makes a good impression and seems intelligent.

25. Azudi, Yadollah (Amir A'zim)

Born in Tehran about 1890. The son of the late Nusratullah Mirza, and a grandson of Vajihullah Mirza Sipahsalar who was the grandson of Fath Ali Shah. Inherited large estates from his father, all of which were situated in the neighbourhood of Damghan and Shahrud. Educated in Persia; has spent some years in Europe. Married first a

daughter of Hasan Pirnia (Mushir-ud-Dauleh), who died a few years later; he then married a daughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh (Hasan Vusug).

Entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1920. First secretary of the Persian Legation at Berlin in 1928, and for some time was Chargé d'Affaires there. Chief de Personnel at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1929-30. Counsellor at Washington 1931, and acted as Chargé d'Affaires there. Minister at Warsaw in March 1933; but recalled to Tehran as the result of some scandal dating from his Washington days the following December. Chief of the Passport Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs August 1935. Administrative Director-General of the Ministry March 1937 until November 1937. Minister of Roads under Qavam-us-Saltaneh 1942, and did well in that post. Resigned early in 1943 partly owing to accusations of nepotism; appointed Minister to Brazil, and proceeded thither July 1943. Now awaiting his successor's arrival to return to Persia.

Speaks French and German, and usually very helpful and forthcoming.

26. Badir, Mahmud

Younger brother of Abdul Wahhab Badir. Born in 1893. Educated in England (Harow and Cambridge). Has been in the service of the Ministry of Finance since 1910. Assistant to the Accountant-General at the Ministry of Finance for a number of years. Chief Accountant of the Ministry of Public Works October 1928. In the same capacity in the Ministry of Roads and Communications 1930. Director-General of the Ministry of Finance 1933. President of the Persian Economic Mission to Germany in July 1935. Succeeded Abul Qasim Furuhan as Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Finance in April 1936. Appointed Acting Minister of Finance on the death of Davar in February 1937. Minister of Finance September 1937 until October 1939.

Minister of Finance in Suhaili's Cabinet 1942, and in that capacity showed himself helpful in smoothing over financial difficulties and in negotiating currency agreements. Minister of Industry in Suhaili's Cabinet of 1943, but was not very successful in settling various wages disputes, and on Suhaili's forming a new Cabinet in December 1943 he was not included in it.

Minister of Finance in Sadr's Cabinet, June-September 1945. Capable and helpful but exposed to criticism for failing to suppress corruption and for introducing nepotism which, it was alleged, flourished in his Ministry on an excessive scale even by Persian standards.

Appointed Head of the Shrine Office at Meshed April 1948. Undoubtedly the most disliked man in Meshed but it is considered that he is favoured by the Shah to whom, as nominal Head of the Shrine, he has sent large sums of money collected from the Shrine lands.

Speaks very good English.

27. Bahar, Muhammad Taqi (Malik-ush-Shuara)

Born in Meshed 1882. Son of a well-known poet named Sabsuri. A member of the old Democratic party, and edited a paper in Meshed called the *Nau-Bahar*. A member of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Majlises from Meshed, and of the 6th from Tehran. Edited his paper *Nau-Bahar* in Tehran during the war of 1914-18, and was pronouncedly pro-German. Nevertheless, he supported Vusuq-ud-Dauleh's Cabinet of 1918-20 during which time he edited the *Iran* newspaper. Opposed the Government during the term of the 5th Majlis and was an opponent of the change of régime. An attempt was made on his life when the debate on the change of régime took place in the Majlis; but another

unfortunate man who resembled him was the victim. Sayyid Hasan Mudarris helped him to get elected to the 6th Majlis.

Nothing much was heard of him during Riza Shah's reign, except that he composed some odes in celebration of the Firdausi centenary in October 1934, and translated into Persian verse a poem by John Drinkwater on that occasion. He has been exiled from Tehran on more than one occasion.

In spite of a fondness for opium has been fairly active at Tehran since the change of régime in 1941. Up to August 1942 he and Mas'ud Sabiti actively supported Qavam-us-Saltaneh's candidature for the post of Prime Minister. After the latter's fall early in 1943, he obtained newsprint from the Russians with which he kept his paper *Nah-Bahar* going. On Committee of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society March 1944.

Minister of Education in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946, dropped when Cabinet was reformed in August 1946. Elected to 15th Majlis for Tehran. Democrat Party leader in Majlis. Went to Switzerland for medical treatment January 1948. Returned and was received by Shah April 1949.

A shifty and over-subtle politician. Acknowledged to be a leading poet and a practical newspaper writer.

28. Bahrami, Farajullah (Dabir-i-A'zam)

Born about 1890. A member of a well-known and numerous Tehran family. Munshi or secretary to Riza Shah before and after his accession to the throne in 1925. Was appointed member of a commission of examination in connexion with the Lionsoff Caspian Fishery claim, but resigned from that position.

Lost the Shah's full confidence in about 1927, and was sent abroad to take charge of the Persian students in Europe, at Paris, Berlin, &c. Returned to Persia about two years later. In July 1930 appointed Governor of Isfahan, and a year later Governor-General of Fars. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in March 1932. Resigned on the fall of the Hidayat Cabinet in September 1933, and was sent to Meshed as Governor-General in the following January. Superseded as Governor-General of Khorasan in October 1934, for reporting that adequate facilities did not exist at Meshed for the accommodation of the orientalis attending the Firdausi millenary. Since that time under a cloud. In the summer of 1935 he was suspected of complicity in some plot and was exiled to Malayir. Allowed to return to Tehran under surveillance, October 1936.

Minister of the Interior in January 1943, but he very soon became involved in a quarrel with his chief, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, which led to the collapse of the latter's Cabinet. Is very alarmed at the Soviet menace to the independence of Persia. Governor-General of Isfahan 1943-44.

A very friendly person, who always appears to do what he can to help British consular officers. Has great aspirations to literary eminence; a great admirer of Hafiz. As Minister he incurred some criticism from his fellow-countrymen for inaccessibility and lack of hospitality. Speaks very little French. Businesslike and hard-working.

29. Bahrami, Fazlollah

Born about 1897. For some time a colonel in the police, and in charge of the detective force. Acting chief of the Tehran Municipality in 1937. Director of Census and Civil Status January 1938.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Suhaili's Cabinet of 1942 and filled that post adequately. Head of the municipality again July 1943; suspended from his functions during the Tehran elections at the end of 1943 owing to accusations of

illegal intervention in the elections, but resumed his functions January 1944.

Governor-General of Kerman 1944-45 where he showed great initiative by organising various schemes for improving water supply, raising money for orphanages, &c.—popular there. Offered post of Governor-General, Kermanshah, in August 1945 but refused. Governor-General, Kerman, again January 1949.

Health undermined by malaria. Friendly and co-operative when in Kerman. Normally reserved and placid but clever and not easily taken in.

30. Bakhtiari, Abul Qasim Khan

Born 1915. Son of the late Amir-i-Mufakkhkham. Educated in England. Governor of Kashan 1941-42. Set up as a rebel leader in Janiki in March 1942, but three months later surrendered to General Zahidi, who appointed him and Manuchihr Khan As'ad as army representatives responsible for order in Bakhtiari. Rebelled again after Zahidi's arrest, but was arrested in 1943 and went to Tehran. In 1946 appointed by Qavam-us-Saltaneh as Co-Governor of Bakhtiari, and shortly afterwards entrusted with the formation of Qavam's Democrat Party there. Ordered to Tehran at the end of 1947 he refused, took to the hills, and after a short scuffle was once again arrested in April 1948. He was tried and condemned to three months' imprisonment and two years' banishment from tribal country, but his sentence was remitted by the Shah.

Intelligent and plausible, but ambitious and unreliable. He did not hesitate to turn King's evidence for purely personal motives on the outbreak of the tribal revolt of September 1946 of which was one of the ringleaders himself.

31. Bakhtiari, Aqa Khan

Born 1908, fifth son of Sardar Muhtashim. Educated in England and speaks good English.

No actual experience of tribal affairs in the tribe as opposed to intrigue in Tehran or Isfahan.

Deputy for Shahr Kurd in 15th Majlis.

32. Bakhtiari, Jahanshah Samsam

Born 1910, the second son of Murtiza Quli Samsam by his second wife, a sister of Sa'adat-ud-Dauleh Qashqai. Is more of a tribesman than his brothers and has had more tribal experience than they. After his father he has probably more influence than any other of the Ilkhani Khans in the tribe and of all the Khans comes second to Abul Qasim.

In 1943 was awarded the Humayun medal, 1st class, for arranging a meeting between the Qashqai Khans and General Jahanbani. Always friendly with British, he was presented with a silver tray at the end of 1945 in appreciation of the hospitality he had shown to British officials during the war.

Farmandar of Shahr Kurd and Deputy Governor of the Bakhtiari June 1944. Joint Governor of the Bakhtiari with Abul Qasim in July 1946. Arrested by Qavam who dismissed him in September 1946 for complicity in the plot by Bakhtiaris and Qashqais to rise against the Central Government. Governor (Farmandar-i-Kul) Kurdistan, March 1949.

Active, patriotic and comparatively honest, but not very clever.

33. Bakhtiari, Manuchihr As'ad

Born 1905, sixth and youngest son of Haji Ali Quli Khan, Sardar As'ad (buzurg). Married to a daughter of Murtiza Quli Samsam.

Arrested with his brothers in 1933 by Riza Shah and condemned to ten years' imprisonment. Was released in 1941 on Riza Shah's abdication. When in prison formed a friendship with Dr. Yazdi, the Tudeh leader. On the strength of this became (with-

out success) Tudeh candidate for Isfahan in the 14th Majlis elections 1943. Took up with Sayyid Zia-ud-Din the following year only to quarrel with him later. Worked against the Tudeh in Isfahan in the winter of 1945-46. Co-Governor of the Bakhtiari with Abul Qasim November 1947, and sole Governor after arrest of Abul Qasim in April 1948.

34. Bakhtiari, Murtiza Quli Samsam

The son of the famous Samsam-us-Saltaneh. Born probably about 1875. Took part in operations against Salar-ud-Dauleh in 1911. Represented the Bakhtiari tribe in the Majlis in the same year, and appointed Ilbeggi of the tribe in 1912. Governor of Yezd in 1914. Helped the Germans during the war 1914-18. Made his peace with the British Legation after the war. Has held the appointment of Ilbeggi or Ilkhani of the tribe on several occasions. Was with the tribe when most of the Bakhtiari Khans were arrested in December 1933; he then had the appointment of Ilkhani. He escaped the fate of his fellow khans, and has assisted the Government in their policy of inducing the Bakhtiari tribe to abandon their traditional nomadic habits. Appointed Governor of Bakhtiari early in 1943 and did well, suppressing various upstarts like Abul Qasim and establishing order in that tribal area, thereby serving British interests well during the war. By the end of 1945 he had, however, become unpopular with the other tribal khans and he was relieved of his appointment by Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Arrested in September 1946 for complicity in joint Bakhtiari-Qashqai rising. Released December. Deputy for Shahr Kurd in Constituent Assembly April 1949.

A clever man, not above intrigue. Quick-tempered, jovial and obstinate. Served Riza Shah well. Very pleasant to meet, but not the sort of man one can trust very far, as he is very much in the hands of his strong-minded wife and also places implicit trust in a worthless agent, Mishbah Fatimi.

35. Bakhtiar, Dr. Shapur

Born 1909. Elder son of Sardar Futih. Educated and obtained his doctorate in France where he lived for sixteen years and served with the French Resistance Forces during the war. On return to this country was appointed in 1946 as Director of Provincial Labour Office in Isfahan. Aroused opposition from factory owners by trying to implement labour legislation too enthusiastically. Factory owners succeeded in obtaining his transfer from Isfahan, and early in 1947 he was appointed Director of Provincial Labour Office in Abadan, a post he still retains. Was unsuccessful candidate in opposition to official Government candidates for 15th Majlis for Isfahan.

In Abadan works hard to improve industrial relations and preserve industrial peace. Conscientious and apparently strictly honest. Relations with Anglo-Iranian Oil Company are on the whole good.

Speaks French and a little English. Is an intense nationalist and professed anti-Communist.

36. Bayandur, Ghulam Husain, Captain

Elder brother of Ghulam Ali Bayandur. Was a captain in the army until 1930, when he went to Italy on a course of naval engineering. Returned in 1934, and was appointed engineer officer of the southern naval force. Promoted major in 1935. Port officer of Abadan and Khorramshahr in 1936. Lieutenant-Colonel, 1938.

Keenly interested in mercantile affairs, and helped to float the monopoly company for the landing of cargo in the port of Khorramshahr in 1937. Transferred to General Staff 1944. Head of Naval Division, Ministry of War. Unpopular with his subordinates. Quick and hot-tempered, but less so than formerly. Uses his position for his

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financial advantage. Not very intelligent, but very hard-working. Speaks French and Italian. Does not appear to like the British.

37. Bayat, Murtiza Quli (Saham-us-Sultan)

A landowner from Sultanabad, born about 1882. Owns considerable property. Member of the Majlis on several occasions, and Minister of Finance 1926-27. Deputy Speaker of the 10th Majlis. Member of the Adalat party 1942. Accused of hoarding wheat during the winter of 1942-43. Minister of Finance in Suhaili's Cabinet 1943 and performed the useful function of effacing himself completely in favour of Dr. Millspaugh. Not included in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943.

Minister without Portfolio in Sa'id's Cabinet March-August 1944. Prime Minister November 1944-April 1945. He sought to improve relations with the Russians but his efforts only resulted in the paralysis of the administration of the country. Sent as Governor-General to Tabriz in December 1945 but failed to do anything to check the Azerbaijan independence movement and soon returned to Tehran. Joined Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946 as Minister of Finance, but was not included when Cabinet was re-formed in August 1946. Deputy for Araki in Constituent Assembly April 1949. Speaks a little French.

38. Bihbahani, Mirza Sayyid Muhammad

An aged divine wielding great influence in Tehran, especially among the old-fashioned type of bazaar merchant. He has the reputation of being quite unscrupulous and corrupt, ready to sell his influence on the bazaars to the highest bidder. Believed to have some close connexion with the Shah and to accept monetary payments from him.

39. Bushihri-Dihdasti, Aqa Javad (Amir Humayun)

Born in Tehran 1898. Second son of the late Haji Muin-ut-Tujjar. Educated at Tehran and in Europe. Speaks French and English. Married a daughter of the late Haji Amin-uz-Zarb. Elected a Member of the 7th Majlis.

Was in Hamburg at the outbreak of the war in 1939, and spent some time in Germany thereafter. Finally got away to Istanbul in 1942 with the help of Count Schulenburg and returned to Tehran March 1943. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad as a suspect in June 1943. Released May 1945. Appointed Governor-General of Fars October 1946 with approval of the Qashqais but only held the appointment for a few months.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Qavam-us-Saltaneh September-December 1947 and Minister of Agriculture under Hahzir June 1948. Deputy for Bushire in Constituent Assembly April 1949.

More interested in politics than his elder brother, Aqa Riza. Fond of pomp, and very extravagant in his manner of living. Nicknamed by some of his friends "Prince Merchant."

A clever man who in the past has always maintained friendly relations with British officials.

40. Dashti, Ali

Born about 1887. Educated in the schools of the Holy Places of Iraq. Returned to Persia about 1922 and edited a paper called the *Shafaq Surkh*. As an editor he became notorious for slanderous abuse and the extortion of money by blackmail, and his abuse of Great Britain and British statesmen was frequently the subject of complaint from His Majesty's Legation to the Persian Government. He was elected a Deputy to the 5th Majlis in 1924, but he was refused a seat by the Parliamentary Commission, whose duty it was to scrutinise his election proceedings. He was prominent in the abortive Republican movement in 1924, and is said to have received and pocketed large

sums from Riza Pahlavi, on whose behalf he worked. He espoused the cause of Riza Pahlavi against Ahmad Shah, and was elected a Deputy to the 6th Majlis in 1926. He was invited to Moscow in October 1927 to attend the tenth anniversary of the Soviet régime. From Moscow he went to Berlin and Paris and returned to Persia early in 1928. He was elected a Deputy to the 7th Majlis in 1928 and to the 8th Majlis in 1930.

Edited or controlled his paper till about July 1935, receiving subsidies now from the Shah and now from the Soviet Embassy.

In July 1935 he fell into disgrace and was said to have uttered disparaging remarks about Riza Shah's régime. His paper was suppressed and he himself was allowed to plead sickness and to retire to a Government hospital where he was made to pay well for his maintenance.

At liberty again at the end of 1936. In charge of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior in 1937.

After the fall of Riza he returned to the foreground of Tehran politics. A severe critic of Furughi and Suhaili in 1942, he worked hard for the return of Qavam-us-Saltaneh as Prime Minister. When the latter came back to power and did not make Dashti a Minister, he turned against him and criticised him in many speeches.

Elected to 14th Majlis in 1943. Since the oil crisis of 1944 he has opposed the spread of Russian influence in Persia and has strongly supported the "resistance" Cabinets preceding Qavam-us-Saltaneh's. Was consistently attacked by Tudeh press during this period. Arrested May 1946. Released December 1946.

Did not obtain a seat in 15th Majlis. Presented credentials as ambassador in Cairo December 1948.

He is a hot-headed firebrand with no scruples and no principles and is capable of the basest villainy if it will help him to obtain his ends.

Trusted little, even by his friends who regard his excessive attachment to women (which he publicly displays) as not in keeping with high office.

A persuasive orator, who holds the attention of the Majlis as few other persons can do.

41. Divanbagi, Aqa Riza Ali

Born in Kurdistan about 1891. Educated in Persia. In the employ of the Ministry of the Interior for some years. Went to Turkey with the Nationalists during the war. "Chef de Cabinet" to the Governor-General of Kirman when Taimurtash was in charge there. A member of the 6th, 7th and 8th Majlises. Governor of Gilan in 1931. Resigned in 1933, and appointed Governor of Mazandaran in October 1934; relieved early in 1936. Governor-General of Khuzistan July 1942 and showed some energy, but is reported to have lined his pockets pretty thoroughly in connexion with certain contracts. Recalled early 1943. Appointed Governor-General, Gilan, October 1947.

Speaks French. Agreeable to talk to, but unreliable. Related to the Qaraguzlu family.

42. Fahimi, Khalil (Fahim-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1885. Related to the Mukhbir-ud-Dauleh (Hidayat) family.

Employed in various posts in the Foreign Office early in his career. Minister of Finance in June 1922. Appointed Governor-General of Kerman in October 1925, but did not proceed. Member of the Majlis for Quchan on several occasions. *Rapporteur* of the Financial Commission of the Majlis. Supported, by a speech in the Majlis, the cancellation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company concession. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in February 1934. Ambassador to Turkey May 1936. Recalled November 1939.

Prominent member of the Society of Supporters of the League of Nations, founded in December 1933. Governor-General at Tabriz 1941 after the fall of Riza Shah. Did not display much energy in dealing with a difficult and delicate situation. Recalled to Tehran at the end of 1942. Minister without portfolio in Suhaili's Cabinet of 1943. Minister without portfolio August 1944-April 1945. Minister of Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1945, but was forced by the Prime Minister to resign at the end of December. Minister of Interior under Hazhir in June 1948. In September 1948 appointed Governor-General, Azerbaijan, whence he was recalled to join Sa'id's Cabinet as Minister without Portfolio in March 1949.

Speaks French. Very agreeable and reasonable in conversation.

43. Farhudi, Dr. Husain

Born about 1899. Son-in-law of Vahid-ul-Mulk Sahibani. Educated in Tehran. Served in various capacities in the Ministry of Education, at Tehran and in the provinces. Has also done newspaper work. One of the Directors-General of the Ministry 1943. Successful candidate for Dashti-i-Mishun and Susan-gird in the 14th Majlis 1943. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh December 1946. Released January 1947. Deputy Prime Minister in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947. Represented Dizful in Constituent Assembly 1949.

Speaks French.

44. Farrokh, Mihdi (Murtasim-us-Saltaneh)

A Sayyid. Born about 1887. Was for some years in the employ of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and head of the 2nd Political Department, dealing with eastern countries. Minister at Kabul in 1927-28. Subsequently Director-General of Industry. Governor of Western Azerbaijan February 1936. Again Director-General of Industry and Mines September 1937 and shortly afterwards raised to the newly-created appointment of Minister of Industry and Mines. Removed from this post without explanation March 1938.

Governor-General of Fars 1940, and of Kerman in 1941. Minister of the Interior of Suhaili's Cabinet July 1942 and in spite of Majlis opposition maintained his place in the Cabinet. Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in August, made him Minister of Food, in which post he displayed a sort of crazy activity which irritated many and did not achieve much. Having fallen out with the American adviser Sheridan, he left the Ministry of Food on the fall of the Qavam Cabinet in February 1943. Elected a Deputy for Zabul in the 14th Majlis November 1943.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars December 1945 but was recalled in February 1946. Presented credentials as ambassador at Nanking November 1948.

45. Fatih, Mahmud

Brother of Mustafa Fatih. Born about 1900 at Isfahan and educated at Tehran and at Montpellier. Trained in agriculture and husbandry. In charge of the Karaj agricultural school for some years. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture 1943. Has planned a model village at Viramin, of which he is very proud. Minister of Agriculture in Sa'id's Cabinet March 1944 but only retained office for a few days. Member of Directing Committee of the 7-Year Plan 1947.

Helpful and business-like, though inclined to be too optimistic and to imagine that all Persia's agricultural difficulties can be solved by tractors.

46. Fatih, Mustafa

Born in Isfahan about 1897. Son of Fatih-ul-Mulk, a servant of the Prince-Governor of Isfahan, Zill-us-Sultan. Educated at Tehran and at Columbia University, United States, where he graduated in economics. Entered the Anglo-Persian Oil Company about 1922 and is the senior Persian official in that company drawing a large salary. Author of a book on the economic condition of Persia published in 1926. Appointed Assistant General Manager (Adm.) of A.I.O.C. at Abadan in February 1947.

Has a perfect command of English and is keenly interested in Persian politics. He also has an international outlook and a considerable knowledge of world politics, particularly those of the Left. Intelligent, friendly and very approachable. Is a mine of information about the foibles of his own countrymen. Since his appointment as Assistant General Manager he has been a focus of mischief and pointless intrigue. He aspires to become General Manager at Abadan.

Has a son in England and a daughter married to Asghar Mirza, the son of Sarim-ud-Dauleh. His wife was daughter of the Zill-us-Sultan's head secretary, Siraj-ul-Mulk.

47. Fatimi, Mihdi (Imad-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1886. Has had an official career in the Ministry of Finance and in 1918 was financial representative in his native city of Isfahan, where he is influential both through his own family and through that of his wife, who is a daughter of the late Prince Zill-us-Sultan. Appointed Deputy-Governor of Fars in 1922-23. Elected a Deputy from Isfahan in the 5th and 6th terms of the Majlis. Appointed Minister of Education in August 1925. Minister of Justice in December 1925 and Minister of Interior February to May 1927.

As a Minister and a Deputy he was uniformly popular and successful. In 1928 he fell out with the Minister of Court and was not allowed to be elected to the 7th term of the Majlis. Elected a Deputy to the 8th Majlis 1930. Governor of Gilan from December 1933 until October 1937.

Head of the Municipality of Tehran under Suhaili's Cabinet February 1943. Resigned 1943 and elected Deputy for Nain 1943. One of the leaders of the Itrihad-i-Milli group in the 14th Majlis which contained about twenty Right-wing members.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars in March 1946. Recalled during the Qashqai revolt in autumn but reappointed February 1947. Recalled May 1947. Speaks a little French.

48. Fatimi, Saifpur

Born about 1905, one of three brothers, a Naini family which claims relationship with Mihdi Fatimi (Imad-us-Saltaneh), though the latter denies it. Educated at the Stuart Memorial College, Isfahan, where he became a baptised Christian; but he made away with some of the mission funds and the mission do not forgive him. He and another, named Husain Sandat, wrote a book against Islam. In order to marry his present wife, who is well off, became a Bahai.

Farmandar (Governor) of Shiraz 1941-43; then resigned, apparently because he had amassed too much money there. His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, considered him energetic, helpful and capable. Then returned to Isfahan as candidate for the Majlis for Najafabad, and though he had little real following in that area success was engineered for him by Murtiza Quli Bakhtiari and Sarim-ud-Dauleh. Intelligent, entirely unscrupulous, and very ambitious; speaks good English and has studied English and English literature, and can remember many extracts. Has many enemies, both Persian and British, but is a man who can, when he wishes, make

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himself very useful. Was largely responsible for organising the anti-Tudeh Workers' Union in Isfahan.

Before Qavam came into power in 1946, he pretended to be passionately opposed to him (a ruse enacted to please the British). In fact he almost certainly supported him as was shown by an article appearing in his brother's paper *Bakhtar* on the day that Qavam was elected.

After the demise of the 14th Majlis he went on a visit to the United States.

49. Fidakar, Taqi

Born about 1905 in Isfahan of humble origin. Educated at the Sariniyeh school in Isfahan. Trained as a lawyer. Worked for a time in the Soviet Consulate General at Isfahan in connexion with the sale of Soviet textiles in Isfahan. From 1940 onwards devoted most of his energies to improving the lot of the Isfahan factory workers. Founded a primitive type of trade union and became workers' spokesman in disputes about conditions of employment. Affiliated his union to the Tudeh party and, with the latter's support, was elected to the 14th Majlis in 1943 as Deputy for Isfahan.

Lost his political following among the factory workers of Isfahan during 1944-45 when the Isfahan workers' union broke away from the Tudeh, but in April 1946 he succeeded in re-establishing Tudeh influence. During 1947 when, arising from their support of the Azerbaijan democrats, the Tudeh party became discredited, Fidakar lost much of his influence in Isfahan, professed disillusionment with the Communist inspiration of the Tudeh movement and retired to Tehran. He resigned from the Tudeh party and was dismissed from the Tudeh trade union, since when he has lived quietly in Tehran obtaining what business he can as a lawyer and giving free services to any workers in legal difficulties. Suspected by the Right-wing because of his earlier record and by Tudeh sympathisers because of his defection from that movement, he is living in near poverty. He retains his idealism and enthusiasm for social reform and is likely to appear again in the political arena.

50. Firuz, Muhammad Husain. Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1895. The fourth son of the late Farman Farma. Educated at the military college at Petrograd. Entered the Persian army during the 1914-18 war, and was regarded as one of the promising young officers of the army. Appointed Chief of Staff of the Southern Division in 1925, and did very good work in organising the troops in Fars and enforcing discipline and efficiency. Sent to Delhi as representative of the Persian army at the Indian army manoeuvres early in 1925. Fell under suspicion for some reason about 1929 and resigned his commission. His Qajar origin was no doubt the cause of his collapse.

Returned to Persia late in 1941, and was sent to Fars as G.O.C. and Governor-General in March 1942. Superseded in both appointments by Marshal Shahbakhti a year later. He had succeeded in keeping a rather precarious order in Fars, but never succeeded in repressing Nasir Qashqai's rebellious movement. Head of the air force 1943. Again appointed Governor-General of Fars in early summer of 1944 but did not get on with the influential Qavam-ul-Mulk or the Qashqai Khans. His enemies accused him of weakness and of truckling too much to the Tudeh, but His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, on the contrary, considered that his refusal to take unnecessarily repressive measures against the Tudeh was more sound. Appointed Minister of War in Sa'id's reconstituted Cabinet in August 1944 but refused the appointment. Minister of Communications in Hakimi's Cabinet November

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1945. Resigned a month later. Returned to the same Ministry in Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946, but was left out when Qavam re-formed his Cabinet in October 1946. Appointed Inspector-General, Persian Air Force, March 1947, but has now retired from military service.

Speaks very good French and Russian and some English; intelligent and enlightened. Very attached to his brother Firuz (Nusrat-ed-Dauleh). Married a Miss Namazi, who was educated in Hong Kong and speaks English perfectly.

51. Firuz, Muhammad Vali Mirza (Farmanfarmaian)

Third son of the late Farman Farma. Born about 1893. Educated at Beirut and Paris. Sent to Tabriz as head of the Finance Department 1915. Said to have taken many bribes while in that appointment. Is very thrifty and has large properties both in Tehran and Tabriz. Elected a Deputy to the 4th, 5th and 6th Majlises for Tabriz. On the fall of his brother, Nusrat-ed-Dauleh, in 1931, he retired from public life and was seldom seen. Has been in Europe a good deal.

Elected to the 13th Majlis for Sarab in September 1941, and again to the 14th in November 1943. His appearance being that of an underfed bird of prey, seems to keep him in the background, but he has a good deal of his father's intelligence. Became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in October 1946 but resigned in December to stand as a candidate for the 15th Majlis. Went to Switzerland February 1947.

52. Firuz, Muzaffar

Born about 1910, grandson of Farman Farma, brother of Muhammad Ali Shah, and accordingly uses the title of Prince in social life. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge. Speaks excellent English and fair French: is bitterly hostile to the Pahlavi dynasty and his sole *raison d'être* is to avenge the murder of his father by Riza Shah. His hostility has recently been sharpened by the fact that his wife's relation, Ismit-ul-Muluk, one of the wives of Riza Shah, was evicted from the palace on a charge of improper behaviour. At one time employed in Persian Legation in Washington, whence, it is believed, he was removed at the request of the United States Government for abuse of diplomatic bag privileges.

It was Firuz who went to Palestine and brought from there Sayyid Zia's first manifesto. He remained an ardent supporter of Sayyid Zia until May 1945 when he broke with him. He says that the breach was caused by Sayyid Zia's becoming more and more dictatorial, but Sayyid Zia's version was that they had to part because Firuz would not abandon his newspaper campaign, in the newspaper *Ra'd-i-Imruz* which he owns and edits, against the Shah, and Sayyid Zia felt that it was impossible to fight the Russians and the Shah at the same time. Towards the end of 1945 he became one of the chief supporters of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. As a reward for this, Qavam, when he became Prime Minister in February 1946, appointed Firuz Political Under-Secretary, an office apparently created for the purpose, and Director of Propaganda. He became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in August 1946, but was dropped when Qavam-us-Saltaneh re-formed his Cabinet in October 1946 and sent to Moscow as ambassador. Relieved of this appointment in the autumn of 1947, he took up his residence in Switzerland and has since moved to Paris. He has a bent for propaganda and sensational journalism and has succeeded in making himself extremely unpopular even with his colleagues. His madness is enhanced by a titanic conceit but not by conspicuous courage.

Rash, unbalanced, dishonest, untruthful and malicious, would probably sacrifice anything to bring about the downfall of the Shah.

53. Furuhar, Abbas

Born about 1895. Though his junior in age, is an uncle of Abul-Qasim Furuhar. Member of the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1934, and acted as head of that department in 1935 and part of 1936. Head of the Personnel Department July 1936 to April 1937. Counsellor, Angora, until September 1938. Head of the Protocol Department September 1938.

Sent to Beirut with the vague title of "Délégué" at the end of 1942. Recalled temporarily in 1943 to give explanations about the conduct of Muzaffar Firuz. Chargé d'affaires to Greek Court in Cairo June 1944. Minister to Yugoslavia April 1946. Now due to return to Tehran on the expiry of his term of office.

Speaks French. Married in 1939 a daughter of Muhammad Ali Muqaddam. Polite, friendly and well-meaning, but the head of the Protocol Department under Riza Shah had a thankless task. Nevertheless, M. Furuhar, unlike his colleagues at the Court, survived the ordeal of the Crown Prince's wedding celebrations.

54. Furuhar, Abul-Qasim

Born in Tehran about 1883. A grandson of Mirza Abbas Khan Qavam-us-Saltaneh, who was Minister of Finance for some years. Educated in Tehran and Switzerland; studied law. A judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1915-21. Chief of Construction at the Tehran Municipality 1921-24. President of the Tribunal 1926-27. Assistant Director of the Registration Department in the Ministry of the Interior 1927-28. Judge in the Appeal Court in 1929. Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Finance under his great friend Davar October 1933. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in June 1934. Minister to France June 1936; but recalled in January owing to an anti-Persian press campaign in some French newspapers. Acting Minister of Interior July and Minister September 1937. Minister of Industry and Mines March 1938. Minister of Interior August 1938 to February 1939 when superseded for no stated reason. A Deputy for Tehran in the 12th Majlis October 1939, and in the 13th Majlis 1941. Appears to have lost some of his energy, being unwilling to become Minister of the Interior to run the elections in 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and later Minister of Finance in Sa'id's Cabinet March-August 1944.

Delegate to U.N.O. Assembly September 1947. Appointed minister to Switzerland 1948. Married to a Bulgarian lady.

55. Furuhar, Ghulam Husain

Born in 1903. Educated at the School of Political Science, Tehran, and at Berlin University where he studied economics and law. Entered the Ministry of Justice in 1928 and held various appointments in that Ministry until 1934 when he transferred to the Ministry of Finance. Director-General in the Ministry of Finance in 1940. In 1941 was appointed to Germany to investigate commercial relations between Persia and Germany. After relations with Germany were cut he acted as economic counsellor to the Persian Legation in Switzerland. Returned to Persia early 1946 and was appointed Director-General of the Taxation Department of the Ministry of Finance. Minister of Roads and Communications in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinets December 1946 to December 1947. Head of Industrial Bank October 1948.

Gained much influence recently by his wife's close association with Princess Ashraf. Generally considered to be venal. More of a showman than an administrator.

Speaks fluent French and German. He is intelligent and agreeable but, politically, he does not carry much weight.

56. Ghaffari, Amir Saham-ud-Din (Zuka-ud-Dauleh)

Born in Tehran about 1880. The second son of the late Muhandis-ul-Mamalik. Educated in Persia and Germany. On the staff of the Ministry of Education 1914-18. First Persian representative to League of Nations. Appointed Persian Minister in Berne 1919-22. Did not venture to return to Persia till the Pahlavi régime was well established in 1931. A chamberlain to Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah and Ahmed Shah. Employed in the Ministry of Education 1934, as a professor of economics. Imprisoned 1939 by order of Riza Shah, on an accusation of having expressed doubts whether the trans-Iranian railway would pay. Sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but kept in prison when his term had been served. Finally obtained release on the fall of Riza Shah in 1941. Director of the Propaganda Section in 1942 and 1943 though he was not very effective in that post and was relieved of his duties early in 1943. Advocated propaganda in favour of religion in order to keep men's minds away from communism.

Minister for Posts and Telegraphs in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946. Left out when the Cabinet was re-formed in August.

Speaks French, German and some English. A very voluble, persistent, tedious little man, with a great idea of his own importance and infallibility. Has a large family of daughters.

57. Ghaffari, Hasan Ali (Mu'avin-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1890. Son of the late Mu'avin-ud-Dauleh, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs. Educated in Europe. At one time attaché to the Persian Legation in Brussels and head of the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. After the Coronation of Riza Shah in 1926, Ghaffari was appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court, a post he held until March 1929 when he was appointed Political Director-General at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Dismissed November 1929 for permitting publication in the press of the judicial safeguards accorded to foreign subject after the abolition of extra-territorial privileges, but reinstated a month later owing to his friendship with Taimurtash, the Minister of Court. Minister at Brussels 1933-36. *En disponibilité* for ten years living in Switzerland and France. Returned Tehran mid-1947. In 1947 he was appointed first Persian Ambassador to Pakistan but did not proceed. Appointed minister to Brazil with personal rank of ambassador March 1949.

An agreeable and well-educated man. Speaks French and German fluently.

58. Ghani, Qasim

Born about 1894 at Sabzivar. Sent to Tehran for education by his uncle, Aqa Khazra'i, and studied in the Bahai "Tarbiat" school for four years. Then went to Beirut where he qualified as a doctor after a course lasting about seven years. On return to Tehran stayed a short time and then went back to his native town and practised medicine, founding a hospital and doing many good works. Then went to Meshed, where he married a rich wife. A great student of Persian literature. Elected as a Deputy for Meshed in the 13th Majlis. Minister of Health in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Health in Sa'id's Cabinet of March 1944. Resigned in April 1944. Member of the Persian Fathangistan or Academy. Member of Persian Delegation to U.N.O. September 1946.

Appointed ambassador in Cairo June 1947. Returned towards end of 1948 and proceeded to Angora as ambassador at the end of December 1948.

A cultured and widely-read man, reputed to be a Bahai, but that is doubtful. Author of a history of Sufism. Speaks English and French.

59. Gulshayan, Abbas Quli

Successively Minister of Finance, Communications and Justice under Furughi August 1941-March 1942. Appointed Governor-General, Tabriz, September 1943 but did not proceed. Head of Tehran Municipality January-August 1944. Minister of Communications under Sadr June 1945. Governor-General, Khurasan, April-September 1948 when he was appointed Minister of Justice under Hazhir. Minister of Finance under Sa'id November 1948. Persian Government plenipotentiary in negotiations with the A.I.O.C. February 1949.

Speaks French and has only a limited knowledge of English. His wife speaks only Persian. Affable and friendly but weak. He shirks decisions involving responsibility and for this reason often seems obstructive. He has a reputation of being corrupt.

60. Hakimi, Ibrahim (Itakim-ul-Mulk)

Born in Azerbaijan 1870; studied medicine in France for ten years; speaks French. Was Qajar Court Physician as was his father. Deputy in the 1st Majlis 1908. Minister of Finance 1910. Minister of Education 1910, 1911. Minister of Finance 1911. Minister of Finance or Education several times up to 1918. Minister of Education 1920. Lived in retirement throughout Riza Shah's reign. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinets August 1942 and February 1943. Associated with Qavam-ul-Mulk in his pro-German intrigues before the invasion. Member of the National Bank Advisory Council in 1943, 1944 and 1945; was considered an ancient nonentity, deaf and infirm, but in May 1945 was appointed Prime Minister because all other candidates were opposed by one or other faction in the Majlis. His Cabinet failed to obtain a vote of confidence and resigned a month later. He again became Prime Minister in November 1945 and did his best to deal with the Russian-inspired independence movement in Azerbaijan and had courage enough to refer to the Security Council of U.N.O. the situation created by the Russian refusal to allow the Persian Government to send troops to Tabriz.

In December 1945 wished to go to Moscow for direct negotiations with the Russians but his request was turned down. Exhausted by his efforts and intimidated by the growing hostility of the Shah and the factions in the Majlis, he resigned in January 1946.

Appointed Prime Minister December 1947 after the fall of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. He survived in that office until June 1948, when his Government resigned on failing to obtain a vote of confidence. A member of the Regency Council during the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom in July 1948. Elected to the Constituent Assembly for Tehran April 1949.

Eminently friendly and sincere, and not without backbone, but elderly, deaf and lacking in grip.

61. Hazhir, Abdul Husain

Born about 1895. The son of one of the "Fida'is" of the early days of the Constitution, who served under Taghizadeh.

In 1930 served under Taghizadeh in the Ministry of Roads and Communications; and in the following year followed that Minister to the Ministry of Finance. Government Inspector of the National Bank. A favourite of Davar's, he was given various lucrative posts by him, including the management of the Cloth Monopoly ("Shirkat-i-Qumash") and, most important of all, the direction of the Exchange Control Commission. Relinquished his post at the Exchange Control Commission in the summer of

1937 to proceed to Europe as part of a commission to purchase stocks for the Cloth Monopoly. Head of the Industrial and Agricultural Bank August 1938. Minister of Commerce and Industry March 1942 and Minister of Roads and Communications in Suhaili's Cabinet of February 1943. Showed commendable energy in inspecting communications in person.

Went to England to study transport conditions in June 1943 and was still away at the end of the year; meanwhile in December 1943, on the Cabinet being reshuffled he became Minister of the Interior. Again Minister of the Interior in Sa'id's Cabinet of March 1944, but was dropped when there was a reshuffle of the Cabinet in August 1944. Minister of Finance in Hakimi's Cabinets of May and of November 1945. Again Minister of Finance in Qavam's re-formed Cabinet of August 1946.

Resigned with the whole Cabinet in December 1947. Appointed Minister without Portfolio under Hakimi in March 1948 and subsequently put in charge of Ministry of Labour. Elected Prime Minister on fall of Hakimi's Government in June 1948. Member of Regency Council during the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom July 1948. In November 1948 he resigned the Premiership despite vote of confidence. Elected to the Constituent Assembly for Tehran April 1949.

A man of conspicuous ability and intelligence. In his early days he was an interpreter and munshi at the Russian Consulate-General. Speaks French, Russian and English; very talkative but has many sound ideas and a shrewd knowledge of his countrymen, among whom he is generally unpopular. Is unmarried.

62. Hidayat, Abdullah, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1902, the son of Mukhbir-ud-Dauleh (Ghulam Riza Kimal-Hidayat), and so member of a family that has usually been pro-British. Brigadier Hidayat is outwardly friendly, and is intelligent and ambitious but something of an intriguer. Trained at the French Ecole de Guerre, and also at Fontainebleau. Head of the Third Bureau, General Staff, February 1941; at the Staff College November 1941; Deputy Chief of the General Staff May 1942; Commandant of the Officers' School November 1942. Under-Secretary, Ministry of War, April 1944. Acting Minister of War September 1944. Director of Artillery November 1945. Under-Secretary of War February 1946. While still retaining this post he left for the United States in March 1947 to negotiate purchases of military supplies under a proposed loan to the Government for this purpose. Appointed Deputy Minister of War December 1948.

A well-qualified serious officer, more staff officer than a commander. Has a good reputation for honesty. When with the General Staff supported Yazdan-Panah in his opposition to a foreign military mission. Belongs to the military clique headed by his friend Razmara. Speaks good French and some English.

63. Hidayat, Izzatullah

Son of the late Sani-ud-Dauleh, who was murdered in Tehran during the Constitutional troubles about 1908. Born about 1895. Educated as a civil engineer in Germany. Member of the staff of the legation at Berlin 1920-23. On the staff of the Ministry of Public Works 1925. Appointed Chief of Railway Construction about that time. Interested in various engineering projects in Tehran, and in a spinning factory. Director of the port of Pahlavi 1930. Arrested and tried for complicity in the irregularities in the Ministry of Roads and Communications February 1936; sentenced in the autumn to six months' imprisonment and a fine. Exonerated after the fall of Riza Shah but not re-employed in

Government service. In 1943 engaged in contracting work. Appointed Inspector of Railways in August 1945, and Director-General January 1947.

Intelligent and of charming manners. Speaks French and German. His mother was a daughter of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. He is married to a Russian. He speaks Russian and French fluently and has a fair knowledge of English. Cousin of Khusrau Hidayat. Visited England and Europe early 1949—on railway matters. Very friendly and frank, but lacks drive.

64. Hidayat, Khusrau Bahman

Aged about 40. A qualified mechanical engineer. Assistant head of Iranian State Railways May 1944 and appointed Director-General November 1944. Relieved of post early 1945, but reappointed for a few months in October 1946.

One of the first members of Qavam's Democrat Party (September 1946) and was made responsible for organising a trade union section of the party to oppose the Tudeh movement. Obtained an appreciable following among workers, especially on the State Railway, presided at two congresses in Tehran in 1947 when the I.S.K.I. Trade Union was formed (this being the Democrat Party organisation in disguise), and in August 1947 became first secretary of the "Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in Iran" (I.S.K.I.). Elected to 15th Majlis for Tehran in 1947. Deputy for Tehran in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference, Geneva, June 1949.

Represents workers on High Labour Council and other joint negotiating bodies, but has little in common with the working class. Slight knowledge of the principles of trade unionism and insignificant organising abilities. Uses his position to improve his own status and settle personal scores.

He was previously married to a Belgian who left him a few years ago. He owes his position to his influence at Court particularly with Princess Ashraf. Speaks French.

65. Hikmat, Ali Asghar

Born about 1894. A member of a Shiraz family and cousin to Mushar-ud-Dauleh (Mirza Nizam-ud-Din Khan Hikmat) and Sardar Fakhir (Mirza Riza Khan Hikmat). Educated in the Church Missionary Society School at Shiraz 1908-09. Well-read in Arabic. Went to Tehran in 1914, where he entered the American College, graduating in 1917. Joined the Ministry of Public Instruction as an inspector. Appointed Director of Education for Fars about 1920, but kept out of the position owing to intrigues. Candidate for the 5th Majlis in 1923, for Shiraz and also for Jahrum, but was not successful. Employed in the Ministry of Education until about 1930, when he went abroad to Paris to study law. Said to have done well in his examinations. Returned to Tehran in September 1933, to take charge of the Ministry of Education as Acting Minister. Raised to the rank of Minister in February 1936. Dismissed July 1938 owing to the Shah's displeasure about a telegram connected with the Paris Exhibition, but restored to favour as Minister of the Interior February 1939. Resigned March 1940. Was proposed for minister, Berlin, but the German Government hesitated about his agreement. When it did come the Shah decided to re-employ him as Minister of the Interior instead, but dismissed him in June 1940.

Minister of Industry and Commerce in Furughi's Cabinet in 1941, and had a good deal to do with the negotiations about the Tripartite Treaty of 1942. Minister of Health March 1942. Minister of Justice in Suhaili's Cabinet of February 1943, but resigned in July owing to differences of opinion with his chief. Headed cultural missions to India 1944 and again

in 1947. Delegate to United Nations Education Conference 1945. Minister without Portfolio June and September 1947 under Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Delegate to U.N.E.S.C.O. November 1947. Head of Persian delegation to Tashkent for centenary of poet Nava'i April 1948. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs under Sa'id November 1948.

The author of some literary works, he spends some time instructing students in Persian literature at the university. Most friendly and shrewder than he at first appears. He is eminently a professor and not a man of action, but he has considerable influence in his own circle.

Speaks both English and French but neither well.

66. Hikmat, Riza (Sardar Fakhir)

Born Shiraz about 1888. Cousin of Ali Asghar Hikmat. During the 1914-18 war was a determined enemy of Qavam-ul-Mulk and friendly with the Qashqais. Since that war settled down in Tehran and was employed in various Government appointments. Governor-General of Kirman 1940-41. Head of the Statistics and Civil Status Office 1942. Elected to the 14th Majlis 1944 for Shiraz. He still enjoys the support and friendship of the Qashqais. Appointed Governor-General, Kirman, June 1946. Is a member of Central Committee of Iran Democrat Party. Elected Deputy for Shiraz in 15th Majlis.

Elected President of Majlis October 1947. On the fall of Qavam in December 1947 was elected Prime Minister, but failed to form a Cabinet. Leader of the dissident group of Qavam's Democrat Party. Re-elected President of the Majlis April 1948 and again in October and April 1949. A member of the Regency Council during the Shah's visit to the United Kingdom July 1948. Elected to the Constituent Assembly from Shiraz April 1949.

A corpulent and polite man. More intelligent than he appears but ineffectual and yet surprisingly ambitious. Very hospitable.

67. Hishmati, Abbas

Born circa 1895, a Qajar prince, the son of Sardar Hishmat. Educated in France; speaks French.

After serving for some time in the army he was elected to the 14th Majlis from Mahallat. In that Majlis he was a member of the Kazimi Party. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh in January 1947 and held until the elections in Mahallat were over—his bitter rival, Shahab Khusrauvani, whom he defeated in the 14th Majlis, was elected. He was released after promising to co-operate with Qavam and was appointed Governor of Hamadan January 1947. In August of the same year was appointed Governor-General of Mazandaran where he remained until transferred to Kermanshah in February 1949. A Member of the Constituent Assembly for Mahallat April 1949.

68. Humayunjah, Muhammad Ali

Born about 1888. A graduate of the Tehran School of Political Science. Judge of the Tribunal of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1922-25. Has held various clerical posts in the Ministry, culminating in that of head of the personnel section of the Ministry 1932-34. Sent as counsellor to Paris in 1935; a post to which he was singularly ill-fitted owing to his scanty knowledge of French.

For some obscure reason, said to be connected with seniority, was made Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in April 1942; in which post he maintains his reputation of benevolent and useless stupidity.

Promoted to personal rank of ambassador April 1946 and awarded Humayun Medal, First Class. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs under Qavam December 1946 and Minister without Portfolio in June 1947. Dropped in October 1947, subsequently appointed ambassador to Angora. He left Tehran to

take up his new post in June 1948 but left Angora for medical treatment in Paris November 1948.

A corpulent individual showing few indications of intelligence; his appointment to a foreign post was looked upon as a very good joke in Tehran.

69. Hovanisian, Ardashes

Born in Resht in 1905. Educated in the American school at Resht and in 1924 went to study at the Sociological College in Moscow. After his return from Moscow took up the cause of the workers and was imprisoned in 1928 and again from 1931 to 1941. Is said to have carried on underground activity from prison. One of the founder members of the Tudeh Party. Elected Deputy in the 14th Majlis for Armenians and Assyrians of Azerbaijan; his election was almost unanimous owing to Russian pressure. Gifted with a certain power of invective he writes occasionally for the Tudeh press and is a leading member of the Tudeh organising committee. Was on good terms with the autonomous "Government" of Azerbaijan. Speaks Turki, excellent Persian and Russian and some English, French and German.

Sentenced to death *in absentia* May 1949, following the attempt on the Shah's life in February 1949.

70. Ibtihaj, Abul-Hasan

Second son of Ibtihaj-ul-Mulk, and brother of Ghulam Husain Ibtihaj. Born at Resht about 1900. Interpreter to the British forces in Gilan towards the end of the war. Entered the service of the Imperial Bank of Persia at Resht about 1920. Did well there, and was transferred to Tehran 1925. Assistant to the chief inspector from then till he resigned in 1936.

Head of the Mortgage Bank 1939. Realised one of his ambitions when he became Governor of the National Bank of Iran in September 1942. In this capacity he has achieved much and has also been of considerable service to us in many ways. Was Persian representative in the negotiations in London leading to the conclusion of a financial agreement between the National Bank and the Bank of England in August 1947 and to its renewal in November 1948. He maintains very cordial relations with the British Treasury and the Bank of England.

He has a complex against the Imperial Bank, on whom he made an unsuccessful legal attack in 1936. In 1949 he did his best to make the bank's position untenable. He took his defeat philosophically but will return to the charge if he can.

As a Persian financier he is unusual since he possesses intelligence, ability, energy and integrity. He is a sincere patriot and his financial theories and policy are largely dictated by his genuine desire to improve Persia's economic position. An avowed economic Nationalist but generally regarded as strongly pro-American.

He is inordinately vain, sensitive and hot-tempered and has made many enemies among his own countrymen. His unpopularity rose to its height in 1949 when his defiance of the business community threatened to precipitate a dangerous financial crisis. There is little doubt that much of his obstinacy and unreasonableness is due to ill-health from which he has been suffering for some months.

His truculence and intransigence during 1949, however, lowered him in the Shah's opinion and earned for him a reputation of wishing to become "a financial dictator."

Married in 1926 Maryam, daughter of Taqi Nabavi (Muazziz-ud-Dauleh). No children. Both he and his wife have been much in the confidence of the Shah and Princess Ashraf.

71. Ibtihaj, Ghulam Husain

Born at Resht 1898. Eldest son of the late Ibtihaj-ul-Mulk, who was for years in charge of the Gilan estates of Fathullah Akbar. Educated

at Resht and completed his studies at Beirut, and for a short time in France. Interpreter to the British Expeditionary Force 1918-20.

His father was assassinated by the Jungalis, and he, together with his family, fled to Tehran when the Bolsheviks occupied Gilan in 1920. Clerk in the Prime Minister's Office 1920-21. Secretary to the Governor of Gilan 1921-22. Transferred to the Ministry of Public Works and assistant to the American adviser, Colonel Morris 1923-28. Dismissed from that post, apparently for dishonesty. Joined the Ulen Company in 1929, when the latter had a contract to construct the railways in the south. Transferred to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1931; first secretary in London April 1932. First secretary in Cairo March 1933. Suspended by the Ministry shortly after, apparently for conduct in London when the d'Arcy Concession was cancelled. In 1934 Chief of Personnel at the Ministry of the Interior; and then director of the Tourist Department and chief of the Touring Club of Iran. Went to Moscow in September 1936 to arrange the transfer of the Russian tourist organisation "Intourist" to his organisation, newly named "Iranjour." Assistant to the Chief of the Tehran Municipality October 1937, but returned to the Ministry of Interior in 1938. Director of Administrative Services in the Ministry August 1938. Acting Chief of Tehran Municipality July 1939.

Incurred Riza Shah's displeasure and was relieved of his charge of the Municipality in September 1940. He then joined "Iranjour" and also served on the board of the Caspian Fisheries Mixed Administration. Appointed Mayor of Tehran in 1944. A supporter of Sayyid Zia he was actively opposed to all Tudeh Party influence in the Municipality. He thus incurred the hostility of all Left-wing elements and in December 1945, Hakimi (then Prime Minister) dismissed him as a gesture of conciliation. In 1942 divorced his Persian wife and married a Polish refugee. In 1946 he became managing director of Iranian Airways. Deputy for Bandar Pahlavi in the Constituent Assembly April 1949.

Author of a widely used guide book to Iran. Speaks English, French and Russian. Clever and resourceful but not to be trusted very far.

72. Imami, Dr. Hasan

Son of Abul Qasim, brother of the late Imam-i-Jum'eh of Tehran. Born about 1912.

On the death of his father in 1947 he was appointed Imam-i-Jum'eh by the Shah, the old Imam's eldest son being unwilling to follow a religious calling.

Studied law in France and Switzerland and married a Frenchwoman.

He is a professor of law at the university and also practises as a solicitor and Commissioner for Oaths.

Although his upbringing and probably his present outlook are worldly he conducts himself with much decorum, wearing the regulation costume from which, however, his addiction to a Dunhill pipe somewhat detracts. He is nervous of foreign contacts but is ready to receive foreign visitors if discretion is observed. He is alleged to be conducting a thriving business in the acquisition of the title deeds to mortmain lands.

Speaks French, Arabic and Turkish.

73. Imami, Jamal-ud-Din

Born about 1900, son of the Imam Jum'eh of Khu'. Educated in Belgium and speaks French.

Deputy in the 14th Majlis for Ku'i, which place had been represented by his brother, Javad, for several years. After at first supporting Ali Dashti, in 1946 he was encouraging the Adalat Party in Abwaz and district. In May of that year he was

arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh for intrigues against the State.

Under Hazhir in June 1948 he became Minister without Portfolio, charged with looking after the affairs of Azerbaijan. He continued as Minister without Portfolio under Sa'id November 1948.

74. Imami, Nizam-ud-Din

Brother of Jamal-ud-Din Imami. Married to a daughter of Vusuq-us-Saltaneh. Speaks English.

Served with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company 1930-42.

Director-General, Transferred Lands Department, early 1943-September 1944. Head of Persian Trade Delegation to India October 1944. Persian Government representative with the A.I.O.C., London, June 1947. He has the appearance of an intriguer and is not trusted by the A.I.O.C.

75. Intizam, Abdullah

Born about 1897. Brother of Nasrullah Intizam. Entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in about 1921. In the Press Department 1933-35. Consul at Prague 1936. Chargé d'affaires at Berne 1938. Head of the Third Political Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in April 1941. Secretary at Berne 1942. Appointed in 1947 to investigate Persian claims against Germany and sent to Stuttgart with the rank of consul-general.

A pleasant and go-ahead person. Speaks English and French.

76. Intizam, Nasrullah

Born about 1899. Son of the late Intizam-us-Saltaneh, and nephew of Hasan Ali Ghaffari. Educated in Tehran at the School of Political Science. Secretary at Paris 1926. Secretary at Warsaw 1927-32. Secretary to the Persian delegates to the League of Nations during the Anglo-Persian Oil Company dispute in 1933. Member of the Persian delegation to the World Economic Conference 1933. Secretary at London May 1933. Transferred to Washington 1934. Has also served in the Treaty Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. First secretary at Berne 1936. "Délégué suppléant" at the League of Nations May 1938. Head of the Third Political Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs (dealing *inter alia* with Great Britain), July 1938. Attended the Duke of Spoleto's wedding in Italy June 1939.

Master of Ceremonies at the Court in March 1941. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the reconstruction of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet in February 1943, a post which he retained in the following Cabinet of Suhaili. Minister of Communications and subsequently of Foreign Affairs in Bayat's Cabinet of November 1944. Resigned in April 1944. Member of the Persian Delegation to San Francisco. Persian Delegate to Executive Commission of U.N.O. in London with rank of ambassador. Member of Persian Delegation to U.N.O. January 1946 and again in September. Persian representative on U.N.O. Palestine Commission June 1947.

Quiet and attractive. Helpful and honest. Speaks French and English.

77. Iqbal, Ali

Born in Meshed about 1895. Son of a well-known landowner of Khurasan, with property at Kashmar and elsewhere in the province. Deputy in the 12th, 13th and 14th Majlises. Never in Government service, but well acquainted with Khurasan politics. Aspired to becoming the mutawalli-bashi of the Meshed shrine 1943, but did not succeed owing to the opposition of the Governor-General. An enemy of Suhaili, he was a professing supporter of Sayyid Zia-ud-Din when his fortunes were at their height.

78. Iqbal, Dr. Manuchehr

Younger brother of Ali Iqbal. Born at Meshed about 1898. Educated at Tehran at the medical school, and then in France, where he qualified as a doctor and received a medal for research. Returned to Persia in 1939 and was employed for some time in the Ministry of Public Health. Under-Secretary of the Ministry 1943, he ran the technical side of the Ministry's work with success. Minister for Health August 1944 (Sa'id's Cabinet). Enjoyed patronage of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Minister for Health in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946. Minister for Education under Hazhir, June 1948. Minister for Health under Sa'id November 1948 and then Minister for the Interior March 1949.

Married to a Frenchwoman. Friendly and intelligent he has a pleasant personality and is said to be a good doctor but as a politician his zeal sometimes outruns his discretion and he has a number of enemies. An ardent Monarchist.

79. Isfandiari, Asadullah Yamin (Yamin-ul-Mamalik)

Son of the late Yamin-ul-Mamalik and a nephew of Hasan Isfandiari. Born in Tehran 1885. Educated in Tehran and Tiflis. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1901; in 1908 had reached the rank of deputy chief of the Foreign Office Tribunal. Karguzar in Isfahan 1917. Governor of the Gulf Ports 1921-23. Consul-general at Baku 1924-29. Governor of Mazandaran 1930-32. Recalled from that post and under a cloud for some time. Director of the Tehran Telephone Company. Deputy in the 13th, 14th and 15th Majlises for Babul, which he also represented in the Constituent Assembly April 1949. Is a director of most of the important companies of the capital, and finds time to look after the affairs of the Aero-Club as well. Has a typical capitalist and conservative outlook, but nevertheless spoke in the Majlis in favour of the factory workers at Isfahan.

80. Isfandiari, Fathullah Nuri

Second son of Hasan Isfandiari (Muhtashim-us-Saltaneh). Born about 1895. Educated in Switzerland and France. Second secretary of the Persian Legation in London 1914-24. Assistant chief of the English Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1925. First secretary at Washington 1926-29. Counsellor at Paris 1929-30. Counsellor in London and chargé d'affaires 1930-31, and was in charge at the time of the Persian Exhibition. Chief of the Economics Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1932. Chargé d'affaires again in London March to December 1933. Head of the Treaty Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1934; served also in the Passport Section. For three months from the end of 1935 he was in Bagdad on a mission charged with negotiations over the frontier dispute, but achieved little. "Chef du protocole" May 1936 to December 1937. In charge of the Government-controlled "Iran" Insurance Company 1938. Appointed Persian Government representative with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company 1942 in London. Minister to Polish Government in London January 1944. Returned to Persia 1945. Minister in Washington May 1947. Appointed Persian representative on International Bank June 1947.

Married to a Frenchwoman; speaks French and English. Conscientious and helpful; an excellent type of permanent official, though he has not inherited the eloquence of his father, much to the latter's disappointment.

81. Isfandiari, Musa Nuri (Muvaffaq-us-Saltaneh)

Brother of Asadullah Yamin Isfandiari. Born in Tehran 1894. Educated in Tehran and Europe. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign

Affairs in 1916. Secretary at Rome for some time. Chief of the Economic Section of the Ministry 1929. Chief of the League of Nations Section 1932. Counsellor and chargé d'affaires at Paris 1933. Counsellor at Moscow in December 1933, and very soon afterwards transferred to Angora, where he was chargé d'affaires for some time. Head of the Consular Department March 1937. Director-General of Industry and Mines July 1937. Summarily relieved of that appointment in September owing to a muddle over the Chalul silk factory that was in reality due to his predecessor, Jahanbani. Administrative Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs December 1937. Minister, Bagdad, August 1938. Sent on a special mission to Berlin 1939. Left Berlin on rupture of relations in 1941, and returned to Bagdad as minister; recalled to Tehran, on the conclusion of five years' foreign service, in 1943. Though at first suspected of pro-German feelings, owing to his visit to Berlin, he behaved correctly on his second period of office in Bagdad. Minister of Agriculture in Suhaili's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Ambassador to Turkey 1945. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Qavam-us-Saltaneh September-December 1947 and again under Hakimi's March-June 1948. Ambassador to India January 1949.

Speaks French and Italian. Pleasant, married very early, and has a son who is a champion at lawn-tennis.

82. Iskandari, Abbas

Uncle of Iraj Iskandari and a Qajar prince. One of the founders of the Tudeh Party, but soon broke away to lead a dissident section. In 1942 became a director of Iran Insurance, in which he made money and went to Egypt 1943-45. Appointed Governor of Tehran in June 1946 and Governor-General a month later when Tehran was made an independent Ustan. Elected to the 15th Majlis for Hamadan. In August 1947 made a violent attack in the Majlis on Taqizadeh, the former ambassador in London. Repeatedly attacked Hakimi's Government in the first part of 1948 and was foremost in demanding a revision of the A.I.O.C.'s concession and the return of Bahrain to Persia. In January 1949 attacked Taqizadeh for signing the revised A.I.O.C. concession of 1933 and was thus largely responsible for the present agitation for a further revision.

Left Persia for Europe very soon after the attempt on the Shah's life on 4th February, 1949.

He is something of a mystery man. Can almost certainly be identified with Soviet agent No. 16 mentioned in Agabekov's famous revelations. He is now rich, owning the greater part of Nihabad aerodrome. One of the most vocal Left-wing Deputies.

83. Iskandari, Iraj

Born 1900. Educated in France as a lawyer. In 1938 published a philosophical review which was nothing more than disguised Communist propaganda, and in that year was one of a group of young Communists imprisoned by Riza Shah. Member of the editorial board of *Rahbar*, the Tudeh Party organ, of which he owned the licence. On Tudeh Central Committee from August 1944 and secretary-general to the party. Owns large properties and is generally regarded as very wealthy. Deputy for Sari in the 14th Majlis and Minister of Commerce and Industry under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946—dropped in October of the same year. Replaced large numbers of non-Tudeh members of the Ministry with Tudeh sympathisers and members during his tenure of office. Went to France January 1947 and has not returned to Persia. "Persian delegate" to Partisans of Peace Conference in Paris April 1949. Condemned to death *in absentia* May 1949 for activities hostile to the constitutional monarchy and for separating part of Persia (Azerbaijan).

84. Issayeff, Ramon

A Caucasian Armenian of about 55 and one of the biggest Armenian businessmen in Tehran. Has the reputation of being pro-Soviet although according to some people this is merely cover for his intense desire to realise an independent Armenia. He is, however, mistrusted by the majority of Armenians who have defeated his recurring attempts to have himself elected as their Majlis Deputy. He was a prime mover in the scheme for getting Armenian peasantry to return to Soviet Armenia in 1947 and in this connexion handled large sums of money subscribed by American Armenians. Is said to have made a great deal of money as a contractor to the Red army during the war. In his plans to increase his company holdings is now meeting with opposition because of his pro-Soviet reputation.

Although uncouth in appearance he is well-educated and speaks excellent Russian. In spite of his reputation as a crook he is kind-hearted and generous.

85. T'ibar, Dr. Abdul Husain

Born about 1910 and was partly educated in Germany. Married a German. In 1943 was head of the Technical and Construction Department in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, a post in which he made large sums of money by the gilding of the Palais de Justice. Elected Deputy for Burujird in the 14th Majlis, and in April 1945 was a member of the Persian Delegation to the San Francisco Conference. Head of water department of Tehran Municipality October 1946. Deputy for Burujird in 15th Majlis.

Speaks excellent German, good English and French.

86. U'imadi, Nasir Quli (Nasir-ul-Dauleh)

Born about 1886. A Qajar prince, descended from the famous vazir, Mirza Taqi Khan. Occupied various posts in Government service, including Governor of the Gulf Ports in 1923. Sent on an economic mission to Germany in connexion with the settlement of various accounts about 1939. Also held other diplomatic posts in Europe. Returned to Persia 1942, and soon after appointed assistant to the Prime Minister by Suhaili, with the rank of Under-Secretary of State. Governor-General of Khorasan December 1945. Recalled July 1946.

Ambitious and clever, but without much stability. Appointed Director of the Caspian Fisheries November 1946. A good bridge player. Speaks French and German.

87. Jahanbani, Amanullah, General (Sipahbud)

Born about 1890, son of the late Amanullah Mirza, Zia-ud-Dauleh (a descendant of Fath Ali Shah), who committed suicide in the British Consulate in Tabriz, where he had taken refuge from the Russians in 1917.

Joined the Persian Cossack Artillery School in 1907 and then graduated in Russia where he served two years with the Imperial Guard.

Was made a general, and became Chief of the General Staff in 1922. He visited France and England in 1923. Although a Qajar prince, he favoured the change of dynasty in 1925.

Held various military commands with periodical falls from and restorations to royal favour. He was appointed Director-General of Industry in March 1936. Dismissed in July 1937. Reported in prison in Tehran in July 1939, and in poor health. Liberated 1941 and made Minister of the Interior in September. Minister of Roads and Communications December 1941. Minister of War March 1942 and employed in the autumn at court as a kind of aide-de-camp-in-general to the Shah.

General Officer Commanding, Fars, September 1943. Commandant, Cadet College, 1936, until

November when he went on a tour of training establishments in France and Belgium. On his return in February 1947 he was appointed to the sinecure post of Inspector to the Eastern Forces in the Ministry of War.

First vice-president of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society March 1945.

Speaks Russian and French fluently; has a Russian, as well as at least one Persian, wife. Apart from his work in encouraging sport in the Persian army he is not now a figure of any prominence, military or political, and is unlikely to become one again. One of his sons studied four years in the Soviet Union and was then forced to leave by the Russians before completing his studies.

88. Jahanbani, Muhammad Husain, Brigadier (Sartip)

Born about 1892, cousin of Amanullah Jahanbani. Educated at Tehran and in Russia, and joined the Persian Cossack Division about 1916. Chief of Staff to General Amir Ahmadi in the Luristan operations about 1928. Military Governor of the Boir Ahmadi country shortly afterwards, where he governed with some success. Fell from favour with Riza Shah at the same time as his cousin in 1935. Then served in various capacities at the Ministry of Industry, especially in some purchasing commissions. Director-General at the Ministry of the Interior 1943, being in charge of the arrangements for the elections to the 14th Majlis, an occupation which nearly drove him crazy. Chief of Police February 1944. Head of Road Transport Department in January 1945. Resigned two months later. In January 1947 he was appointed Administrative Assistant to the Minister of War and retired from the army in 1948.

Speaks French, Russian and some English. The author of an anthology of Persian poetry. Said to be very corrupt financially, but is easy to get on with.

89. Jam, Mahmud (Mudir-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1880. Has had a long career in the customs and other Government departments, and was, for more than ten years, Persian secretary to the French Legation in Tehran. Director of the Alimentation Service, Tehran, from 1916 to 1920, where he did good work. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the short-lived Cabinet of Sayyid Zia-ud-Din 1921. Acting Minister of Finance January 1922, and Minister of Finance October 1923 to August 1924. Appointed as assistant to Prime Minister, Sardar Sipah (Riza Shah), until the latter became provisional head of the State on 31st October, 1925, and then assistant to the two following Prime Ministers. Appointed Persian Minister to Brussels in 1926, but did not proceed. Appointed Governor of Kerman Province in September 1927, and Governor-General of Khorassan in April 1928. Recalled from Khorassan in December 1928 and appointed Minister of Public Works. Returned to Khorassan as Governor-General in August 1929. Appointed Minister of the Interior in Furughi's Cabinet of 1933, and succeeded him as Prime Minister in December 1935. Headed the mission to Egypt on the Crown Prince's betrothal to Princess Fauzieh June-July 1938 and received the Order of Muhammad Ali from King Farouk. Minister of Court October 1939. Ambassador to Egypt 1941. Minister for War September-December 1947. Minister of Court January 1948. Accompanied the Shah to the United Kingdom July 1948, just after the announcement that he was to become Governor-General, Azerbaijan—an appointment he did not take up.

An amiable and pleasant man who speaks French fluently. The embassy, in their dealings with him, have always found him trustworthy and sincere.

90. Jazayiri, Dr. Shams-ud-Din

Born in Tehran 1905 of a family of Khuzistan Sayyids. Educated at Tehran University and Law School. Joined the Ministry of Education in 1925 and then in 1932 went to France whence he returned in 1938 having obtained his doctorate.

Director of Instruction in Ministry of Education 1938. Later transferred to Ministry of Finance and became head of Tobacco Monopoly in 1941. Adviser on Millspaugh Price Stabilisation Committee 1943. *En disponibilité* August 1944. Legal Adviser, Ministry of Finance March 1946 and Legal Adviser Ministry of Labour 1946-48. Member of board of directors of Iran Insurance Company 1948. Member of the Council of the 7-Year Plan May 1949.

Keenly interested in education, he has been working closely with the education expert of Overseas Consultants Incorporated who speaks highly of him. Also has considerable knowledge of labour and social developments and assisted in preparation of Persian Labour Code.

Married in 1941 Mah Mumi, daughter of Dr. Muaddab Nafisi. A charming and intelligent wife. Speaks French.

91. Kafa'i, Hasan

Son of the late Akhund Mullah Muhammad Kazaim, who was the chief mullah at Najaf. Managing director of the Khusrauvi Cotton Mill and Electricity Company in Meshed. A clever and unscrupulous businessman who has accumulated a large fortune during his four-year association with the Khusrauvi Company. Most unpopular.

His elder brother, Haji Mirza Ahmad, is the most influential and most respected mullah in Meshed. His nephew, Ja'afar (son of the Haji) was elected from Turbat-i-Haidari to the 15th Majlis and to the Constituent Assembly April 1949.

He was himself elected to the Constituent Assembly from Meshed.

92. Kambakhsh, Abdus-Samad

Born 1905, at Qazvin; his father, still alive in 1943, was Ain-ul-Mamalik, a Qajar prince and wealthy landowner at Qazvin. Entered Persian army about 1923; sent to Leningrad for training and became a pilot there; also imbibed the doctrines of communism with enthusiasm. On return was active Communist and was known as the Persian representative on the Comintern. Sentenced to death by Riza Shah, but was pardoned and then imprisoned with fifty-three other Communists. Exiled in 1940 to Bandar Abbas; released on the fall of Riza in 1941.

Elected to the 14th Majlis for Qazvin, by help of the Soviet representative. Generally regarded as one of the more decent Tudeh members. He is believed to be dissatisfied with the complete subservience of his party to Soviet interests. Put in charge of the publicity of the Tudeh Party in August 1944. Married to a Persian related to the Kia family who acts an *acconchouse* in Tehran.

Believed to have taken refuge at Soviet Summer Embassy after the attempt on the Shah February 1949. Sentenced to death *in absentia* May 1949, for acting against the Constitutional Monarchy. His wife was arrested and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

93. Kashani (or Kashi), Sayyid Abul-Qasim

Born about 1888. Educated at Kerbela and lived there for many years as a mujtahid. Expelled by the Iraq Government in 1922 for non-co-operation with our policy in that country, and came back to Persia, where he has been ever since. Kept in the background during Riza Shah's reign, but on the latter's abdication in 1941 came back into prominence and achieved a certain popularity partly owing to his reputation as an opponent of Riza Shah. His

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anti-British bias, a legacy from 1922, led him into intrigues with German agents and in August 1943 he fled from Tehran to avoid arrest. He was arrested by British security authorities in June 1944 and confessed to having helped German agents. Released in August 1945. He nurses a bitter enmity towards the British. Arrested by Qavam-us-Sultaneh July 1946 and released in November.

A prominent political mullah. In June 1948 he instigated demonstrations against Abdul Husain Hazhir after the latter had been elected Prime Minister. Arrested by military authorities after attempt on Shah's life 4th February, 1949 and banished to Khurranabad, but later allowed to leave the country for the holy places of Syria.

94. Kazimi, Baqir (Muazzib-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1887. Educated in the School of Political Science in Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, being first attached to the Russian section, and later employed in the Cabinet of the Ministry. Appointed Chief of Cabinet in 1921. Appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Washington in 1925. Sent to Iraq to inspect Persian consulates in 1928. Later in the same year appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Kabul, but could only proceed as far as Herat, where he remained as Persian Consul-General. Appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Roads and Communications in 1930, and Acting Minister in 1931. Appointed substantive Minister of Roads and Communications in May 1931, but had to resign in February 1932, owing, it is said, to being unable to build roads fast enough for His Majesty the ex-Shah. He was subsequently appointed Persian Minister in Bagdad, towards the end of 1932. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Furughi's Cabinet of September 1933.

Went on official visits to Afghanistan and India November-December 1935, and was the guest of the Viceroy (Lord Willingdon) at Delhi. Resigned March 1936, and unemployed until appointed Governor-General of Eastern Azerbaijan April 1937. Ambassador, Kabul, July 1938. Ambassador, Angora, October 1939.

Minister of Public Health December 1941 to March 1942. Then Minister of Finance in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942, but resigned before its fall in circumstances which did him little credit. Appointed to Angora as ambassador in May 1943, but did not proceed; the Turks appear to like him as little as the Iraqis; who have not forgotten how he opposed them in the dispute concerning the Shatt-al-Arab waters. Minister of Education in Sa'id's reshuffled Cabinet of August 1944. Delegate to U.N.O. January 1946. Minister to Denmark, Norway and Sweden April 1946.

In January 1948 he was offered, and is reported to have accepted, the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hakimi's Cabinet but he remained in Stockholm. Presented his credentials as minister to Finland also February 1949.

A man of intelligence and energy.

95. Kazimi, Mustafa (Dahir-ul-Mulk)

Born in Tehran 1891. Brother of Baqir Kazimi. Educated at the School of Political Science, Tehran. Entered the Ministry of Education 1914, and appointed Director of Education at Kerman in 1915. Caused a great deal of trouble to the British forces and the Imperial Bank of Persia during the war of 1914-18. Financial agent at Isfahan 1920-22. In the Ministry of Finance 1923-25. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice 1927-28. Chairman of the Caspian Fisheries Committee 1928-32. Governor-General of Kerman 1932-33.

Engaged in politics after the fall of Riza Shah; tried to found a new party without success June

1942. Elected member of the Majlis for Kerman 1943, after vehement protestations of repentance for his anti-British past.

As one of the leaders of the *Ittihad-i-Milli* fraction in the Majlis, he consistently and strongly opposed the spread of Soviet influence, and right at the end of the 14th Majlis he was not afraid to deliver a speech violently critical of the Soviet's breach of the Tripartite Treaty.

96. Khajeh-Nuri, Ghuham Ali (Nizam-us-Saltan)

Son of Amir Nuri (Nizam-ud-Daulah). Member of the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for several years, with an interval as secretary at the legation in Rome in 1935. Visited London in September 1937 on business connected with the printing of bank-notes for the Persian Government and commissions for the Royal palace. Chief Inspector in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1946. Head of Protocol Department 1949.

Educated partly in Russia, where he learnt ballet-dancing. Speaks French and Russian. Though of decadent appearance, he is helpful and friendly. Aided by his cultivated and charming wife, who is a daughter of Dr. Ali Asghar Nalisi, he is hospitable and popular with the Diplomatic Corps.

Has done various services for the Court after the fall of Riza Shah, the latest one being French instructor to the Queen-Mother, whom he admires with an enthusiasm which is no credit to his intelligence.

He prefers to be known as Nizam Khajeh-Nuri.

97. Khajeh-Nuri, Ibrahim

Legal Adviser to the Tehran Chamber of Commerce. Born about 1905. Member and Secretary of the Adalat Party from 1942. Unsuccessful candidate for the Tehran elections in 1944. Director-General of the Publications and Propaganda Department in 1944 and again in 1947, when he also held the office of Deputy Prime Minister.

A well-known and popular writer, his best-known work being "*Bazigaran-i-Asr-i-Tala'i*," a series of twelve biographies of outstanding personalities in Riza Shah's reign. For some years he has produced a fortnightly Newsletter called *Khajeh-Nuri Letter*. As a historian he is most readable but not very accurate. In politics he is an idealist of strongly pro-British tendencies.

98. Khusravani, Ahmad, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Was in temporary command of the air force in 1931 during the occasions when General Ahmad Nakhjivan was suspended, and again in 1937 when General Nakhjivan was appointed assistant to the Minister of War. Promoted brigadier (Sartip) and placed in command of the air force 1939. Officer Commanding Troops, Tabriz, 1942 but returned to be head of the air force at the end of 1944, after he had been expelled by the Russians from Azerbaijan.

Head of the Transport Directorate, Ministry of War, 1946. Deputy Chief of the General Staff 1947. Appointed Military Governor of Tehran on imposition of martial law after the attempted assassination of the Shah February 1949.

Shows commendable energy, but his ideas are out of date.

99. Kishavaz, Faridun, Dr.

Born in 1906. Partly educated in France as a doctor of medicine and formerly practised at Pahlavi. Then ran a large and prosperous children's clinic in Tehran. In 1944 became one of the leading members of the Tudeh Party, of which he is a member of the Central Committee, and since then has been responsible in large measure for the organisation of the party. Editor of the Tudeh newspaper *Razm*. Tudeh Deputy for Pahlavi in the 14th Majlis. In

December 1945 was invited by the Soviet Government to attend ceremonies held in Tashkent on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Central Asian Middle East College. Minister for Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946, but was dropped in the Cabinet reshuffle of October of the same year. During his tenure of office he succeeded in filling many important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers.

After the attempt on the Shah's life of 4th February, 1949, he was reported to have taken refuge in the Russian Embassy. Sentenced to death *in absentia* May 1949 for actions hostile to the constitutional monarchy.

Completely unscrupulous and reported to be a perfect tool for the Russians. An accomplished public speaker.

100. Kupal, Sadiq, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Tabriz about 1890. Educated in Persia and Constantinople. Originally an artillery officer; but joined the gendarmerie in 1911. Was with the Turks when they approached Hamadan in 1916. (Has the Gallipoli star.) Went to Angora on a congratulatory mission in 1922 and remained there as military attaché till 1924. On the staff of the General Officer Commanding, North-West Division, in 1924. Chief of Police in 1929. In temporary command of the air force in 1931. Liaison officer with the Iraq forces in the operations against Jaafar Sultan 1931-32. Head of the Conscription Department 1934. Accompanied the Shah on his journey to Turkey in 1934.

Governor of Riza'iyeh in 1941, but retired thence in a great hurry when the town was threatened with insurrection by Kurds and Assyrians in March 1942. Suspected of complicity in the Zahidi plots. Very intimate with the Turkish Ambassador 1943. Arrested at the instance of the Allied security authorities September 1943, released May 1945. Director of Military Tribunal, Tehran, February 1946. Appointed Chief of Gendarmerie 1947.

Energetic and loquacious. Has a Turkish wife. Neither studious nor professionally ambitious. Shows some interest in horse racing.

He is considered by the American Mission with the gendarmerie to be honest and sincere.

101. Kurus, Isa (Esau)

Born about 1896. A commissioned officer in the South Persian Rifles during the 1914-18 war. For many years a leading merchant of Tehran, representative of Imperial Chemical Industries, Metropolitan Vickers, &c. Has a branch in London, and his wife and children are in England (1949). Speaks excellent English and is well disposed towards us. Patriotic and of strict integrity. Fell into disgrace under Riza Shah through no fault of his own. Seems inclined to enter politics and stood for the Majlis for Tehran 1943 without success. Vice-President of Tehran Chamber of Commerce since October 1942. Member of Tehran Municipal Council 1943. Member of board of directors of Iranian Airways 1946. Deputy for Tehran in 15th Majlis.

One of the wealthiest merchants in Tehran.

102. Lankarani, Shaikh Husain

Born about 1890 in Soviet Azerbaijan. Elected Deputy for Ardabil in the 14th Majlis. Owed election to Soviet intervention. Without Russian backing would have no influence. Noted Tehran intriguer, mob orator and trouble-maker. In 1943-44 was employed by the Shah to stir up trouble against Sayyid Zia-ud-Din. A typical Akhund, venal and double-faced. Qavam arrested him July 1946, but released him in December.

Arrested in March 1948, together with his three brothers, in connexion with the murder of the journalist Muhammed Mas'ud. Subsequently

released. Again arrested with his brothers after the attempted assassination of the Shah 4th February, 1949, but again later released.

103. Mansur (Rajab) Ali, C.B.E. (Mansur-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1888. Educated in the School of Political Science at Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and was employed in the English section. He subsequently transferred to the Tribunal section, where he rose to be Director of the Civil Court. Appointed Director of the English section in 1917. Appointed Under-Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1919, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of the Interior in 1920. Created C.B.E. 1920. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in April 1927, and held that post until January 1931, when he was made Minister of the Interior. Transferred to the post of Minister of Roads and Communications in January 1933. Arrested in January 1936 on charges of misappropriation and incompetence. Acquitted August 1936. Rehabilitated as Minister of Industry and Mines August 1938. Selected by Riza Shah for the post of Prime Minister June 1940, it was to him that the joint Russo-British ultimatum was delivered on 25th August, 1941. As the result of the subsequent events he resigned in September 1941. Governor-General of Khurasan February 1942, in which post he showed some energy in collecting wheat, though his administration of the funds of the shrine laid him open to various accusations of embezzlement. Recalled from Khurasan in the autumn of 1945. Governor-General, Azerbaijan, December 1946-July 1948.

Elected to the Constituent Assembly from Tehran April 1949. President of the Council of the 7-Year Plan May 1949.

Mansur is believed to have made money out of the sale of promotions while at the Ministry of the Interior. During the time he was employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs he was brought into contact very frequently with this legation, and was always found to be friendly and agreeable. A clever man, often in the running for the post of Prime Minister. Speaks French.

104. Marzban, Dr. Isma'il (Amin-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1875, at Resht. Studied medicine in France, and has practised as an oculist at Tehran for about the last forty years. Visited London in connexion with the Constitutional movement in 1906. Has had several excursions into politics, having been Minister of Posts and Telegraphs whenever his fellow-citizen, the late Sipahdar, was in power. President of the Iran Club after Jam, a post which he still holds.

Universally liked and respected as an honest old gentleman. Owns a little property in Resht, but is not rich, and still practised up to his appointment as Minister of Public Health under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in 1942. He resigned from that post in December 1942. Took a prominent part in supervising the Tehran elections December 1943. President of the Anti-Narcotic League January 1944. Minister of Health in Hakimi's Cabinet May 1945.

Benevolent and agreeable manner. Speaks French.

105. Mas'ud, Akbar (Sarim-ud-Daulah)

Born 1885. Eighth, and second surviving, son of Mas'ud Mirza Zill-us-Sultan, son of Nasir-ud-Din Shah. Was early recognised as one of the most intelligent of the Zill's fourteen sons, and now has succeeded to the major part of his father's inheritance. Minister of Public Works and Commerce 1915. Minister for Foreign Affairs 1916. Governor of Isfahan in 1917. Minister of Finance in Vusuq-ud-Daulah's Cabinet of 1919; one of the triumvirate who arranged the abortive Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1920; Governor of Kermanshah and Hamadan in

November 1920. Governor-General of Fars 1922-23, and again in 1929. Arrested shortly after the fall of Firuz Mirza in 1929, and kept under surveillance near Tehran for several months. Thereafter lived quietly in Tehran till 1932, when he was allowed to return to his vast properties in and around Isfahan.

Killed his own mother at his father's instigation on a point of honour in 1906. He seems to have lived down the odium of this deed. Has been several times to Europe and has visited England. Speaks English and French fluently and is pleasant-mannered, clever and intelligent. The two-fold stigma of being pro-British and a Qajar prevented him coming back to power during the régime of Riza Shah. At the fall of Riza Shah he at first continued aloof from public affairs, though he kept in touch with what was going on. He has now become the unofficial controller of almost everything in Isfahan, displaying commendable initiative in supporting such improvement projects as the Kuhrang tunnel and the thermal power station in Isfahan. He takes a great pride in his model village at Asgharabad, near Isfahan, and may very easily have a part to play in shaping Persia's future in the next few years. Has one surviving son and two daughters. A famous hunter.

Is on good terms with the present Royal Family and accommodates members of it when they visit Isfahan. (He was the twenty-fourth person to see the Shah after the *attentat* and gave a large sum of money to the Imperial Social Services as a thanksgiving for the Shah's deliverance.)

Headed the poll from Isfahan in the elections to the Constituent Assembly April 1949.

106. Mas'udi, Abbas

Born in 1895 in Tehran. Educated in Tehran, and for a year in France. A journalist by profession and by nature. Proprietor with his brother, Jamal Mas'udi, of one of the two principal vernacular daily papers in Tehran (the *Ittila'at*) and of the French daily paper *Journal de Téhéran*. He accompanied the present Shah, when Crown Prince, to Iraq, Syria and Egypt on his wedding tour as press representative, and kept the Tehran press supplied with a stream of accounts of the Prince's doings, in that quasi-religious style that alone was permitted to Persians when speaking of their monarchy. A Deputy in the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th Majlises.

In the 13th Majlis came out strongly in opposition to Qavam-us-Saltaneh, being severely beaten by some of his opponents in the riots of the 8th December, 1942. Visited Palestine and Egypt in May-June 1943. Appointed Director of Iran Airways December 1944. Visited United States in April 1945, as one of several representatives of the Tehran press invited by the American Government. Covered the U.N.O. meetings in London in early 1946 as unofficial representative of the Persian press. Returned from America August 1947 and took over direction of *Ittila'at*.

Elected to 15th Majlis for Tehran which he also represented in Constituent Assembly April 1949.

107. Matin-Daftari, Dr. Ahmad

Born in Tehran 1898. A nephew of Dr. Musaddiq, whose daughter he has married. Educated in Tehran, partly at the American College. Entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1918. Persian secretary to the German Legation in Tehran 1920-23. Returned to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1923-27. Joined the Ministry of Justice in 1927 and appointed Attorney-General of the Court of Appeal. Sent to Europe by the Ministry of Justice in 1929 to take up an advanced course of law, during which he studied in Germany, and for a time was sworn in as a judge in a German court. Obtained a degree as doctor of law. Returned to Persia 1931. Director-General of the Ministry of Justice 1932. Acting Minister of

Justice when Davar was away at Geneva in 1933. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice 1934. Represented Persia at the International Law Conference held in Berlin in 1935. Minister of Justice 1935. Member of the mission to Egypt for the Crown Prince's marriage February-April 1939. Prime Minister October 1939.

Appeared pro-German in various negotiations while Prime Minister and was forced by Riza Shah to resign in June 1940 but in this may well have been scapegoat for the Shah. In 1943 was evidently hoping to re-enter the political arena. Arrested as a suspect June 1943 but soon released. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946.

Stood, unsuccessfully, as candidate for Tehran in elections for 15th Majlis, but was elected from Khiav. An active member of the Opposition which defeated Qavam-us-Saltaneh in December 1948.

Speaks French and German, and a little English; he has travelled in England. A very hard-working and conscientious official, always very helpful when approached. A good speaker, with a thorough knowledge of local legal administration.

108. Mibbah-Fatimi, Ali Naqi

Born about 1898. Related to Imad-us-Saltaneh (Mibdi Fatimi) of the well-known Isfahan family, though not related (he says) to Saifpur Fatimi and his brothers. Has had a career under the Ministry of the Interior, in various posts and inspection duties. Vice-Governor of Isfahan 1925. Governor-General of Khuzistan in 1940 and again in 1943. Has remained so, despite numerous intrigues to have him removed.

Speaks English and French. Gets on well with the authorities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company with whom he co-operated satisfactorily during the labour troubles of the summer of 1946.

109. Mibbahzadeh, Dr. Mustafa

Owner of the newspaper *Kathan*. Head of Press and Propaganda Department June 1943. He was the Shah's candidate for Bandar Abbas in the 14th Majlis elections but was not successful. He was, however, elected from that constituency to the 15th Majlis and also represented it in the Constituent Assembly April 1949.

Speaks English and French.

110. Muazid, Mas'ud

Born about 1890. Educated in the School of Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and served in certain Russian posts, also Trebizond. A personal friend of Baqir Kazimi, who, when Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1934, appointed Muazid head of the second political section of the Ministry which deals with Russia. Consul-General at Herat in 1937. Head of the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs November 1937. Counsellor, Angora, November 1938.

Returned to Ministry for Foreign Affairs about 1940 and in 1941 became the head of the Consular and Passport Department.

Persian Government representative at Beirut January 1944 with the rank of minister plenipotentiary. Withdrawn end of 1946. Appointed Director-General, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, March 1948.

A somewhat dried-up individual. Speaks Russian and French.

111. Muqaddam, Hasan, General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1890. Commanded at Mahabad in 1929. General Officer Commanding, North-West Division, December 1929. General Officer Commanding, Kurdistan Division, at Senneh 1936. When in Kurdistan had a reputation for efficiency and

energy. Was the undisputed ruler of the Province of Kurdistan from 1938 to 1941. General Officer in command of the troops in the West when the Russo-British invasion took place in 1941, and after handing over to the invading forces retired to Tehran.

Being an old friend of Riza Shah he was retained in the army and in June 1942 was made Governor-General of Azerbaijan till August 1943. Ministry of War Inspector, June 1945, but retired soon after.

Muqaddam gives the impression of being a clever though cautious old soldier, unable to resist the temptation to make money whenever possible. His daughter is married to Riza Qavam, son of Qavam-ul-Mulk.

112. Muqbil, Ahmad

Appointed Under-Secretary at Ministry of Finance in February 1944 but resigned in September 1944. A member of the Supreme Economic Council April 1945, and in August 1945 was sent to United Kingdom, France and United States to study economic and financial affairs. Minister of Agriculture under Sa'id November 1948.

Quiet and friendly. Not a prepossessing personality and lacks drive. Is co-operative, and B.M.E.O. advisers have found him helpful. Both he and his wife know little English but speak fluent French.

113. Musaddiq, Dr. Muhammad (Musaddiq-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1885; a nephew of Fardian Farma. Has studied law in Paris to a certain extent and poses as a jurist. Appointed Governor-General of Fars in 1920. Appointed Minister of Finance in June 1921, and sought and obtained authority from Parliament to purge and reform that Ministry. However, during his six months' tenure of that portfolio he destroyed indiscriminately the good with the bad, and at the end the organisation was worse than before, as he proved himself entirely incapable of making reforms. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in 1922, and in 1923 became Minister for Foreign Affairs for a period of four months. Elected Deputy to the 4th, 5th and 6th terms of the Majlis from Tehran. Owing to his opposition to the Government in the 6th term, steps were taken to prevent his election to the 7th Majlis.

Imprisoned and otherwise ill-treated by Riza Shah, he spent the last few years of Riza's reign in a village near Tehran. Headed the poll in the Tehran elections in 1944. Tried unsuccessfully to unseat Sayyid Zia.

Sponsored the Oil Law of December 1944 prohibiting the grant of any oil concession until after the departure of all foreign troops from Persia. Made a determined effort to be re-elected to 15th Majlis but, though he obtained a large number of votes, was defeated by the candidates of the Iran Democrat Party. A demagogue.

114. Musavizadeh, Ali Akbar

President of Provincial High Court of Ustans 1 and 2 in May 1942. Was suspected of pro-Axis activities in World War II and was interned by the British and released in July 1945. Was not a prominent fifth columnist and is said, by the Minister of War, to bear the British no ill-will for having been interned. Member of delegation under Muzaffar Firuz which went to Tabriz in 1946 to announce agreement between Central Government and Democrats. Member of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Democrat Party of Iran 1946. Member of Elections Supervisory Council 1946. Appointed Governor-General of Tehran in October 1946, but did not take up the appointment owing to his inclusion in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of October 1946 as Minister of Justice.

Dropped from Cabinet in June 1947 and appointed Governor-General of Tehran. Relieved of this appointment in January 1948.

115. Mushavir, Dr. Fazlullah

Formerly an inspector in the Agricultural Bank, he has been associated with the Planning Organisation since its inception and became a foundation member of the Council of the 7-Year Plan May 1949.

Said to be capable and intelligent.

Speaks French fluently, and English.

116. Mu'tamidi, Ali

Born about 1897. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs about 1919. Served abroad as secretary at various posts; chargé d'affaires at Rome in 1933. Head of the Third Political Department of the Ministry (which dealt with British affairs) in 1934 and 1935. Transferred to direct the First Political Department June 1936. Hard-working and intelligent; a good type of the younger school, who showed himself reasonable and conscientious in dealing with our affairs in the Ministry. Head of the Department of Registration of Land and Documents under the Ministry of Justice March 1938. When the Minister of Justice (Martin-Daftari) was made Prime Minister in October 1939, he took Mu'tamidi with him as Private Secretary.

Married the sister of Ghulam Ali Khajeh-Nuri. Private Secretary to the Prime Minister in Suhaili's Cabinet of 1942, and became Minister of Posts and Telegraphs for a few days at the end of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet February 1943. Was also in charge of the Road Transport Board in 1942 and 1943. Appointed Consul-General at Delhi July 1943. Member of Advisory Council of Anglo-Persian Institute 1943.

Became first Persian Ambassador to India 1947. Appointed to Hakim's Cabinet as Minister of Roads and Communications January 1948 but did not accept office. Also refused Hahzi's offer of officer June 1948. Resigned his ambassadorship in November 1947 as a protest against conditions in Persia.

Honest. Speaks French, Italian and a little English.

117. Nabavi, Taqi (Muazziz-ud-Dauleh)

Born in Tehran 1882. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1899. Consul at Batum 1908. Consul at Ashkabad 1910. Karguzar (Government agent) at Meshed in 1912. Consul-general at Tiflis 1919-21. Has served as consul-general in India, Minister for Foreign Affairs for two months in Sayyid Zia's Cabinet of 1921. Consul-general in Syria 1930. Minister in Iraq 1931-32. Appointed president of the Iran-Soviet Caspian Sea Fisheries Company 1935. Minister at Brussels August 1937. Recalled August 1938.

Head of the Caspian Fisheries Board again 1940. A difficult post which he seemed to occupy with some success, as he knows Russians well and was often able to frustrate, by a little diplomacy, the Russian plans to gain complete control of that undertaking. Appointed minister at Lisbon October 1944, but did not proceed as the plans to open a legation there fell through. In November 1946 left the Caspian Fisheries to become minister at Prague.

A corpulent little man, speaking French, Russian and English. Was well in with Taimurtash, but survived the latter's fall. Suspected of making irregular use of customs privilege while employed abroad. Quite a well-disposed person, though not exceedingly intelligent.

118. Nafisi, Habib

Age about 40. Son of Dr. Mu'adib-ud-Dauleh. Educated Toulouse University and Paris, qualifying as an engineer. Completed practical training in the United States (three years), Czechoslovakia and Ger-

many. On return to Persia was employed as a technical expert in the administration and management of State factories and was for a time director of the Tehran Small Arms Factory. Then employed as Director-General in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce where he became increasingly interested in social problems and employment conditions. He drafted the first Persian Labour Law approved by the Council of Ministers in May 1946. Was appointed Under-Secretary of the newly-formed Ministry of Labour and Propaganda, to which labour functions previously performed by Ministry of Industry and Commerce were transferred in May 1946. In 1947 succeeded in separating propaganda functions from Ministry of Labour. It was almost entirely due to his enthusiastic and insistent efforts that the Labour Law was finally approved by formal vote of the 15th Majlis in June 1949.

He shows a wide interest in social services, whether or not within the official scope of his Ministry; in 1948 he established an experimental trade training centre in Tehran, he works hard for the Royal Organisation for Social Services, and he has inspired an embryonic co-operative movement in Persia.

He has paid numerous visits to Europe, to London in 1945 to study the organisation of the British Ministry of Labour and National Service, and to International Labour Organisation Conferences in Paris (1945), Geneva (1947), Geneva (1949). A great admirer of British achievements in social and labour spheres, and pro-British in so far as this does not conflict with his strong nationalism. Extremely hard working, conscientious and apparently honest—by Persian standards he is a poor man. Through his late father who was in charge of the Shah's education, and his second wife who was a lady-in-waiting to Princess Ashraf, Nafisi has close contact with the Royal Family.

His first wife, by whom he has a son born about 1942 and now at school in Switzerland, was drowned at Geneva in 1947. In 1948 he married the niece of Mustafa Adi (Mansur-us-Saltaneh).

Speaks fluent French and English.

119. Nafisi, Hasan (Musharraf-ud-Dauleh)

Third son of the late Dr. Nazim-ul-Alibba. Born in Tehran 1896. Educated in Persia and went to France in 1909, where he graduated from the Lycée Henri IV. Returned to Persia in 1914 and joined the Ministry of Finance. On the staff of that Ministry till 1921, when he was appointed Director of the Inspection Department of the Tehran Municipality. Left for France in 1922, where he studied law for two years. Obtained the degree of doctor of law from the University of Paris, and the diploma of the School of Political Science. Returned to the Ministry of Finance for two years in 1925. Assistant to the procureur général of the Court of Appeal in 1927, and in 1928 president of the Tribunal of Commerce. Joined the staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as legal adviser in 1928. Visited London 1929. Left the company's service in 1930, and set up private practice as an advocate in 1930; but remained the company's lawyer. Has one of the best legal practices in Tehran. Visited London again in 1933 and 1935.

Minister of Finance in Furughi's Cabinet 1941, and did good work in the difficult task of reconstructing the country's finances on a new basis. Resigned with that Cabinet early in 1942. Persian Government representative to International Bank in 1946. Appointed Financial Adviser to the Prime Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh autumn 1947 and charged with preparation of preliminary report on Seven-Year Plan. Within one month produced report which was basis of subsequent legislation. Post as Financial Adviser abolished January 1948, but he remained chairman of Provisional Planning Authority until

the end of the year when he resigned after disagreeing with Sa'id's Cabinet over the staffing of the Planning Authority. Was appointed Member of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949.

Married the daughter of Amin-ud-Daulah in 1931. Speaks English and French. A very sensible man, with a sound knowledge of local and French law; has been very helpful on many occasions to this embassy on legal points.

120. Nafisi, Sa'id

Second son of the late Dr. Nazim-ul-Atibba. Born in Tehran 1893. Educated in Persia and later in France. Returned to Persia in 1911, and was employed in the Ministry of the Interior. Transferred to the Ministry of Public Works in 1916, where he held different posts till 1927. Since then has been professor of the Persian language and literature in various schools. Has also done a good deal of journalism for the *Ittihad*, the *Journal de Téhéran* and other newspapers. Was also active in promoting the first Persian cinema film. Has a great reputation as a prose writer. Author of a life of the poet Rudaki, and of a French-Persian dictionary. Published some violently anti-British articles in the local press when the D'Arcy Concession was cancelled. Has a certain knowledge of the Pahlavi language. A member of the Iranian Academy (Farhangistan).

A scholar of sorts and an active propagandist of pro-Russian views. Visited Moscow in autumn of 1945.

Prominent in the Soviet-Iranian Cultural Society.

121. Najm, Abul-Qasim

Born in Tehran 1893. Son of the late Najm-ul-Mulk, a noted astronomer.

Educated at the School for Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1911. Chief accountant at the Ministry 1920-24, and again from 1926-28. Transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and appointed Director-General there in 1930. Under-Secretary to that Ministry in 1933. In November of that year appointed minister to Germany. Minister in Tokyo early 1940; recalled on rupture of relations 1942. Said to have expressed admiration for Japanese methods. Ambassador at Kabul 1943-45.

His Majesty's Minister, Kabul, reported that he was friendly but ineffective, his co-operation with His Majesty's Legation being adequate but no more. Understands English tolerably well. Minister in the short-lived Hakimi Government in the summer of 1945 but had not left Kabul when that Government fell. Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hakimi's Cabinet of November 1945. He did his best to deal with the Azerbaijan crisis but the difficulties were too great for him.

Minister of Finance in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948. Member of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan May 1949.

122. Nakha'i, Muhammad

Born about 1902. Educated in Persia; speaks French.

Secretary of the Persian Legation in Brussels from 1928 for some years, and then remained in Belgium teaching Persian. Also studied law, and eventually returned to Persia to join the National Bank as head of its legal department. Later transferred to the Ministry of Finance as private secretary to the Minister (General Amir-khusruvi). 1941 became president of the Exchange Commission. At the end of 1943 private secretary to the Prime Minister (Suhaili). Has visited England, and his thesis for his doctorate was a dissertation on *Le Pétrole en Iran*.

In autumn 1943 helped to organise Government Employees' and Tenants' Association. President of Association of Iranian graduates of Belgian Universities.

Minister of Commerce in Sa'id's reconstituted Cabinet of August 1944. Minister of Agriculture in Sadr's Government in 1945.

Capable, intelligent and well-disposed towards us. Brother of Dr. Husain Ouds. Brother-in-law of Najm.

123. Nakhjivan, Ahmad, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born at Tehran about 1893. The son of an emigrant from Nakhchivan, in the Caucasus. Educated in Persia and France. Entered the Cossack Division School in 1910. Commissioned in the cavalry in 1913. From 1913 to 1920 served in Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Gilan. At Qazvin in 1920 he became a supporter of Riza Shah and joined him for the *coup d'Etat*. In 1922 sent to France for a three years' course in flying. In returning to Persia in 1926 he flew all the way from Paris to Tehran. Director of the Air Force in 1927. Suspended from duty and reinstated three times during 1930-32. Commanded the air force again from 1933 to the end of 1936. Was considered the best Persian pilot. Employed in the Ministry of War early in 1937. Under-Secretary for War in 1938, and virtually Minister, owing to prolonged vacancy in that appointment. Acting Minister of War throughout the latter part of 1938 and the whole of 1939 and 1940. Imprisoned and nearly executed by Riza Shah in a fit of rage during the attack on Persia in September 1941. Minister for War in Furughi's Cabinet 1941-42. Not employed in official posts since then; he has had trouble with one eye. Proposed as Military Attaché in London but did not proceed. Appointed Head of the Air Force in the early summer of 1944. Paid a formal visit to United Kingdom in November 1944 in connexion with schemes to train the Persian Air Force on Hurricanes, but was promptly replaced by another officer. Subsequently visited America. Appointed Inspector-General of Army in 1945. Transferred General Staff April 1946. In business 1949.

Speaks French and Russian. A gambler, not very interested in politics. A patriotic and fairly dependable person, well-disposed to us and honest.

124. Nakhjivan, Muhammad (Amir Muvassaq), General (Sipahbud)

Born at Tehran about 1882. His father was an officer in the Cossack Brigade. Educated partly in the Russian Military School at Tiflis. On his return to Persia he joined the Cossack Brigade. Director of the Military Academy at Tehran in 1922, as a reward for loyalty to Riza Shah; he had previously been engaged in the fighting in Gilan with the Bolsheviks and Kuchik Khan. In 1928 appointed Acting Chief of the General Staff. Acting Minister of War in August 1934; attained the rank of Amir Lashgar in 1935. Relieved of his functions as Acting Minister in April 1936. Head of the Persian Staff College 1942.

An exceedingly stupid, fat man, who appears to owe his high appointments to a habit of carrying out orders with no comment; never holding any opinion of his own. He never went far wrong, and finally fell simply from the fact that his stupidity got on his royal master's nerves. Very susceptible to flattery.

Speaks Russian, French, German and a little English.

125. Nasr, Sayyid Ali

Born Tehran about 1890, of a well-known family of Sayyids, one of whom was assassinated while serving in the Finance Ministry in 1924. A Government servant whose career has been mostly in the Finance Department, under which he has served in Khuzistan and on various inspection duties. Ministry of the Interior as Assistant 1943, and was

in charge of the Ministry on the departure of Tadayyun in December 1943. Appointed Minister to China January 1944. Promoted Ambassador when status of Legation was changed to that of an Embassy in February 1945. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Qavam June-September 1947. Ambassador at Karachi March 1949.

One of the moving spirits in the Persian repertory theatre at Tehran; in his youth he was an actor, and has translated and adapted for the Persian stage a number of foreign plays, including those of Molière. Speaks French.

126. Nasr, Taqi

Born c. 1909.

Was chief of the economic section of Ministry of Finance before becoming the head of the Agricultural Bank. In 1941 went to United States as Ministry of Finance delegate on a permanent Persian trade and finance mission in Washington. Was deputy Persian representative first on the International Monetary Fund and later at the International Bank. Recently has been working in the United States with a Persian-American trading group. In the past eight years he has spent very little time in Persia. Appointed executive director of Seven-Year Plan May 1949.

He is a close friend of Prince Abdur Riza whom he assisted in his studies in the United States. He is keen, intelligent and adaptable.

127. Navab, Saifullah

Born about 1893.

Educated in France.

Formerly Director-General of Census and Civil Registration Department, he became a member of the Economic Advisory Committee April 1945. Governor-General of Mazandaran in September 1945 and again in February 1949. In between these two appointments he returned to the Census and Civil Registration Department.

Speaks fluent French.

128. Nikpay, P'az (Azizullah)

Born in 1896. Educated by the Church Missionary Society at Isfahan and at the American College in Tehran. Speaks English and French. Started his career in the Ministry of Finance. Director of a large and important mill in Isfahan. Governor of Kermanshah in 1940-41. Represented factory owners at International Labour Conference in Paris October 1945. Governor-General of Kermanshah May 1946 when he set himself almost unreservedly the task of promoting Government interests in face of increasing Tudeh displeasure. Until the time of his recall to Tehran, he resolutely pursued his policy of strengthening Right-wing opposition to the Tudeh, and where unsurmountable opposition was not encountered, he directed local affairs with exemplary efficiency. Political Under-Secretary and Assistant to the Prime Minister, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in July 1946; granted Ministerial rank September 1946 and Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in October 1946. Resigned December 1946 to become a candidate for Isfahan in the elections for the 15th Majlis: was elected and thereafter reappointed Minister. Dropped from the Cabinet in June 1947.

A zealous administrator and frankly pro-British. Pleasant-spoken and intelligent. An intriguer, not entirely honest, but thrifty and capable. Appears to be enlightened on matters regarding relations of employer and employee.

129. Nurzad, Ghulam Riza

Born in Tehran about 1880. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1905 and held different posts in various consulates in Russia. First secretary of the Embassy

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at Moscow in 1922. Counsellor there in 1924, and later Chargé d'Affaires. Chief of a section at the Ministry 1929. Consul-general at Delhi 1933. Head of the Consular Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, November 1938.

Consul-general at Istanbul May 1941. Recalled July 1943 and appointed head of the International Relations Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs November 1943. Transferred to the Court 1944. On committee of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society 1944.

Speaks French and Russian, as well as a certain amount of English. A rather long-winded person, but quite harmless.

130. Pahlavi, Muhammad Riza Shah

The eldest son of Riza Shah by the daughter of Taimur Khan; this lady was the ex-Shah's chief consort and was known as the "Malikeh."

Born on 26th October, 1919, and proclaimed Valiahd, or heir-apparent, on 1st January, 1926. Educated in Tehran under tutors at first, and then in Switzerland at La Rosay, under the direction of Dr. Muadab Nafisi. Returned to Persia in the spring of 1936. Speaks excellent French and good English.

Betrothed in June 1938 and married Princess Fauzieh, sister of King Farouk of Egypt, at Cairo on 15th March, 1939. The marriage was preceded by a very pompous journey through Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The principal wedding festivities took place in Tehran in April, on the couple's arrival, and were attended by delegations from many countries, including the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice, the Duke of Spoleto and General Weygand. The only offspring is one daughter, Shahnaz, born in 1940. Queen Fauzieh left for Egypt in 1943 and never returned. Her divorce by mutual consent from the Shah was announced on 19th November, 1948, and attributed to the fact that her health did not permit her to live in Persia.

Muhammad Riza succeeded to the throne on the abdication of his father in September 1941. In the early years of his reign he took little part in public affairs although he was alleged to interest himself in public appointments. The first sign of his intention to exert his influence in State matters appeared in 1946 when he conceived a strong antipathy to Qavam. Eventually it was due to his active intervention that Qavam fell from power at the end of 1947.

His private visit to Britain in July 1948 was a considerable success and he created a good impression.

On the 4th February (15 Bahman) 1949 an attempt was made on the Shah's life. His escape was miraculous and created a profound impression. The Shah's bearing on this occasion greatly enhanced his prestige. He then decided to introduce the constitutional reforms which he had been contemplating for over a year and in which he considered the primary remedy for the country's deplorable condition lay.

The Shah is well-informed, intelligent and courageous. Although he has not the forcefulness of his father, whom he greatly admires, he is determined to do his best for his country, and with the promise of increased constitutional powers it is to be hoped that he will develop a greater self-confidence and more balanced judgment. His greatest weakness is his inability to select wise counsellors and his readiness to listen to the advice of the first-comer, including some worthless adventurers. He is susceptible to the influence of his twin sister, Princess Ashraf, and in a diminishing degree to that of his mother, who is said to make a practice of comparing him unfavourably with his autocratic father.

In spite of reports to the contrary, the Shah is neither vicious nor particularly interested in money. Indeed, since his accession he has in the hope of benefiting his people freely expended much of the vast fortune amassed by his father. He is a keen all-round sportsman and a good amateur pilot. He is also a very hard worker. He has a lively apprehension of Soviet designs and is inclined to be irritated by American ineptitude. At the time of writing (June 1949) his sympathies are almost embarrassingly pro-British. He is still to some extent torn between a partiality for liberal institutions and methods, which is no doubt the product of his Swiss education, and an ardent desire to transform the economy of this corrupt and backward country. It remains to be seen whether His Majesty will develop the patience and judgment necessary for his purpose, or whether, under pressure of events, he will eventually follow in the footsteps of his father.

131. Pahlavi Royal Family

The following are recognised members of the Pahlavi Royal Family:—

Sons—

(i) Shahpur Ali Riza

Born 1st March, 1922.

He was sent away from Persia soon after his father's abdication in 1941 and remained abroad, nominally completing his education, until February 1948, when he returned unexpectedly to Tehran. During his absence he married a Frenchwoman, but the marriage has not been officially recognised. He is reported to be a man of violent character and to have inherited much of his father's temperament.

(ii) Shahpur Ghulam Riza

Born 13th April, 1923.

He was married in January 1948 to Huma A'lam, daughter of Dr. Alam and granddaughter of Vusqu-ud-Dauleh. Made a second lieutenant in the army in 1947 after passing out from the Officers' Training College in Tehran. Has, apparently, an amiable disposition.

(iii) Shahpur Abdul Riza

Born 19th August, 1924.

He returned to Tehran in January 1948 after several years at Harvard University. He has made a good impression on those who have met him. Went to United States again in 1948 for medical treatment but returned to Persia on the passage through the Majlis of the Bill relating to the Seven-Year Plan of the Organisation for which he was appointed honorary president May 1949.

(iv) Shahpur Ahmad Riza

Born 17th September, 1925.

Mentally not normal. Married to Simin Bahrani of Tehran, who bore him a daughter 10th March, 1949.

(v) Shahpur Mahmud Riza

Born 3rd October, 1926. Is now in the United States.

(vi) Shahpur Hamid Riza

Born 4th July, 1932.

An unruly boy, who three times ran away from school in the United States. Finished his schooling in 1948 and is now in Tehran, but apparently unoccupied.

Daughters—

(i) Shahdukht (Princess) Shams-ul-Mulk

Born 18th October, 1917.

Married, first, Faridun, son of Mahmud Jam; one daughter; divorced; second, Muhammad Pahlbud, a man of low origin.

The Princess is president of the Red Lion and Sun Society. Has travelled in the United States where she is again at present (June 1949).

(ii) Shahdukht Ashraf-ul-Mulk

Born 24th October, 1919, a twin sister of the Shah.

Married, first, 1937, Ali Qavam, son of Qavam-ul-Mulk, divorced 1942; one son, Shah-Ram; second, Ahmad Shafiq, an Egyptian of good family, who for some time has been Director of Civil Aviation.

The Princess visited Moscow in 1946 and the United States and United Kingdom in 1947 to study social welfare organisations.

(iii) Shahdukht Fatimeh

Born about 1929.

Went to school in the United States. Returned to Tehran 1948. Accompanied Princess Shams to the United States again May 1949.

Of the above, the following are the offspring of Riza Shah's first wife:—

Princess Shams.

Princess Ashraf.

Prince Ali Riza.

Riza Shah's second wife was Malikeh Turan, who was of Qajar stock on her father's side. She bore Ghulam Riza, but was divorced after three months. (In 1942 she married an obscure merchant in Tehran named Zahirullah Malikpur).

Riza Shah's third wife was Ismat-ul-Mulk, a Qajar Princess of the Daulatshahi family. She bore him four sons and a daughter, i.e.—

Prince Abdul Riza.

Prince Ahmad Riza.

Prince Mahmud Riza.

Prince Hamid Riza.

Princess Fatima.

132. Pakravan, Fathollah (Amir-i-Arfa)

Born about 1885. First became known as a member of the 2nd Majlis, where it appears that he was the laughing-stock of his colleagues. In 1910 he obtained the appointment of Persian Consul-General in Constantinople. From Constantinople he went to Egypt as consul-general, and later became Persian Minister there until he returned to Tehran early in 1925. In 1925 he was appointed Director of the Russian and Turkish section in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Appointed Persian Minister in Rome in December 1928. Appointed Persian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. in February 1931. Was accredited also to Finland and Estonia as Minister in 1932. Recalled from Moscow in February 1934. Appointed Governor-General of Khurasan November 1934. Recalled and brought to Tehran under arrest on various charges of peculation and irregular conduct in February 1942 but was released without trial. Appointed ambassador to Italy late 1945. Left to take up appointment May 1946.

Speaks French fluently. Has a Russian wife who speaks fluent English.

133. Pirnazar, Hasan

Born in Tehran about 1895. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1920. First Secretary in Cairo 1925. Chargé d'Affaires in Cairo 1930. Returned to Persia 1931. Consul at Bombay 1932. Consul-general at Baku 1935. Head of the economic section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1941. Promoted Director-General 1943. Accompanied Qavam-us-Saltaneh to Moscow February 1946. Appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs January 1948. Appointed Minister to Yugoslavia but has not yet proceeded.

Speaks French and some English. Seems a conscientious official.

134. Purvali, Abul-Qasim

Born in Tehran about 1896. Educated in Tehran at the School of Political Science. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1921. A judge in the Foreign Office Tribunal from 1922 to 1924. Second secretary at Brussels 1925-27. First secretary at Rome 1927-30. Transferred to the Department of Commerce in 1931, and employed there as chief of the Import Permits section. In 1933 chief of the Passport and Nationality section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1934 appointed counsellor at Berlin. Consul-general, Hamburg, 1938. Head of Personnel Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, April 1939.

Head of the second section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which deals with Iraq and Turkey, 1942. Minister at Berne 1944-48.

Married to a German lady.

Speaks French. A voluble little man, who has a great idea of his own importance, and has never gone out of his way to give us any help.

135. Qadimi, Dr. Husain

Born in Tehran 1895. The second son of the late Asadullah Qadimi, Mushar-us-Saltaneh. Educated in France, and holds a doctor's degree. Attaché at Paris 1918-21. His wife is French. At the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1922-23. Secretary at Berne and for the League of Nations 1924-28. Chief of the League of Nations and Treaty Section of the Ministry 1929-32. Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm 1932. Counsellor at Berne 1936. Director of the League of Nations Section of the Advisory Department of the Ministry 1937, and of the League of Nations Department, when that section was raised to a department in September 1938. Minister at Berne 1941-44. Consul-general at Quetta since 1944.

Speaks perfect French. A very efficient man at his job.

136. Qaraguzlu, Ali Riza (Baba-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1880. Owns property at Hamadan, and is a cousin of the late Nasir-ul-Mulk. Has lived in Europe for a number of years and is a graduate of the School of Political Sciences of Paris. Elected to the 4th Majlis as member for Hamadan. Appointed Minister of Finance in 1923, though he had held no Government office before. Resigned in April 1923, as he found that he was controlled by Dr. Millsaugh. President of the Government Supervisory Board of the National Bank of Persia 1929-32.

Minister of Justice in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942; resigned in the following January without having accomplished anything valuable. An honest politician, but much too old to learn anything new or useful. Lives in Tehran; used frequently to visit Paris. A queer and eccentric man, with a reputation for honesty.

137. Qaraguzlu, Husain Ali

Second and younger son of the late Nasir-ul-Mulk, Regent of Persia. Born in 1900. Educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. Married the daughter of Taimurtash in 1931; and divorced her in 1935. An attaché at the Legation in London 1931. In the same capacity at Paris 1932. Returned to Tehran at the end of that year, and since employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, at first in the Treaty Department, and from the end of 1936 in the Protocol Department. Transferred to the Ministry of Interior at the end of 1937.

Resigned from Government service in 1938 and took to chicken farming. After the fall of Riza Shah was not employed in Government service until he became secretary to Dr. Millsaugh at the end of 1942; and in May 1943 was employed at Court, his

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brother-in-law, Ala, being Minister of Court. Still engaged there.

Charming but ineffective; his failure to fulfil his early promise has been a disappointment, but he is a believer in Anglo-Persian co-operation. An idealist with a certain intelligence and a reputation for honesty.

Speaks perfect English and French.

138. Nizam-Qaraguzlu, Husain Quli (Amir Nizam)

Born in 1883, the eldest son of the late Amir Nizam. A member of the Qaraguzlu family of Hamadan and a nephew of the late Regent, Nasir-ul-Mulk. Educated in England and Austria. Passed through the Military Academy at Vienna, and served with a commission in an Austrian infantry regiment for three years. Inherited large estates from his father in the district of Hamadan, but owing to his absence in Europe from 1921 to 1929 these estates have been allowed to deteriorate. Was appointed Governor of Kermanshah by Vossuq in 1919, where he was very popular on account of his honesty and integrity. Being a rich man he was imprisoned at the time of the *coup d'Etat* in 1921, and made to pay 20,000 toman as the price of his release. He was so disgusted at this unmerited treatment that he left Persia and vowed never to return. During his stay in Europe he lost heavily at Monte Carlo and Deauville. Taimurtash met him in Europe in 1928, and persuaded him to return to Persia, which he did in 1929. Appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court in March 1929. Sent to Europe on private business for the Shah in March 1930 and returned at the end of December.

A reputation for honesty saved him from sharing his friend Taimurtash's fall. Grand Master of Court Ceremonies (Foreign) 1938. Dismissed owing to royal irritability during the Crown Prince's wedding celebrations in April 1939, and retired to his estate at Kabud-Kahang, near Hamadan.

An extremely agreeable and likeable man, with more than a veneer of European culture. Is the best type of educated Persian, and is noted for his honesty and integrity. Speaks fluently French, German and English.

Is tremendously rich with ample investments abroad. Devotes much time and energy to improving the lot of his peasants. Obstinate, but great force of character and personality. Has great influence in Hamadan area where he is looked on as experienced, wise and good. Honest, hard working and pro-British. In June 1945 bequeathed all his lands to his peasants and distributed copies of the will among them. Appointed the British Embassy and the Imperial Bank of Iran as two of the executors.

139. Qashqa'i, Khusrav

Born 1921. Youngest son of the late Isma'il Qashqa'i (Saulat-ud-Daulah). Was appointed Governor of Firuzabad in November 1943, but preferred making frequent trips to Tehran to living at his post. Made large sums of money by selling monopoly goods destined for the tribes at an enormous profit in the open market. Elected to 15th Majlis from Firuzabad. Went to Europe in December 1947.

The reprobate of the family, he has great personal bravery and recklessness. Inherits his father's cruelty and sadism, and is credited with a number of reckless killings. Has personal charm, considerable powers of persuasion and a boundless capacity for making mischief. Is generally described as a "child" which is intended by some to excuse his excesses and by others to mean that it is time he grew up.

Spent a long holiday in the United States (1948-49) where he picked up English in a very

short time. Khusrau is intelligent but has an unguarded tongue, which continually gets him into trouble.

140. Qashqa'i, Malik Mansur

Born 1905. Second son of the late Saulat-ud-Dauleh. Studied at Brasenose College, Oxford. Of hawk-like appearance and attractive personality, he talks much but slowly and tends to repeat himself. Speaks good English and German and a little French, Turkish and Turki. Reported to be loved by the tribespeople where Nasir is feared. Devoted to tribal pursuits of hunting and riding. Says that he will do his utmost to oppose any Government interference with the tribe and that he is prepared to fight the army.

At present in Switzerland undergoing medical treatment.

Has great influence amongst the Boir Ahmadi tribes with whom he spent many years of his youth. He is very popular among the whole Qashqa'i confederation. Married the daughter of Jahangir Khan (Qashquli Kuchik Family) by whom he has a daughter.

141. Qashqa'i, Muhammad Husain

Born about 1907. Third son of the late Saulat-ud-Dauleh. Studied at Reading University, but left because of chronic asthma. Studied economics at Berlin University. Deputy in 14th and 15th Majlis for Abadeh. Elected to Constituent Assembly from Firuzabad April 1949. A voluble speaker. Excitable and untrustworthy.

He is known as the "merchant" brother. Not very popular in the tribe—he married, last year, a rich Tehrani girl, another cause for tribal criticism.

142. Qashqa'i, Muhammad Nasir

Born 1904. The eldest son of the late Isma'il Qashqa'i (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Elected to the 8th Majlis as a member of the Qashqa'i. Ilkhani and the most influential chieftain of his tribe for a short time during 1930. Deprived of parliamentary immunity and arrested for conspiracy in 1932. Fled from Tehran during the general disorder in September 1941 and recovered his old position in Fars where he is now the accepted but not entirely undisputed leader of the Qashqa'i. Does not smoke or drink and is a model family man. Tall, broadly built, staring eyes, slight smallpox marks on face, of commanding presence. A fast talker and a good raconteur. Fond of town society and, when living in civilised surroundings, is very reasonable and amenable. When living with the tribes he seems to lose his balance (where matters outside the parochial affairs of the tribes are concerned) and to be easily misled. This instability probably results from his varied earlier experiences including imprisonment in Tehran with his father who died in captivity.

Until the summer of 1945, when he eventually screwed up courage to come to Tehran, he seems to have been generally in fear of re-imprisonment. His anxiety to consolidate his positions leads him, at the prompting of others, to see in himself a future Governor-General of Fars, Prime Minister and even Shah of Persia.

Speaks a little English and understands much. He had two Germans with him in 1943 and made a landing ground, intended for German aeroplanes, near Farrashband. He rebelled in 1943 and was attacked by troops under Marshal Shahbakti but the operations were very half-hearted and soon fizzled out. In April 1944 he handed over the Germans who had taken refuge with him and undertook to co-operate with the Allies. Was a leader of a tribal revolt in Fars in summer of 1946 in which his brothers also took part. After some fighting the Qashqa'is came to an understanding with the

Government and peace was restored. Elected to the 15th Majlis but did not take his seat. Deputy for Shiraz in the Constituent Assembly April 1949.

Muhammad Nasir Qashqa'i has made himself tribally unpopular by permitting the greed of his wife (Rudabeh Bibi) who wishes to seize all she can for Nasir's children (the eldest boy—Amanullah Khan—aged 17-18 years—is studying in Switzerland; the other son—Jingiz—is now about 9-10 years is with the tribe; there are several daughters—who of course count for little in the tribe).

143. Qavam, Ahmad (Qavam-us-Saltaneh)

A brother of Hasan Vusug, than whom he is younger by a few years. Began his career in the Ministry of Finance. Became Minister of War, July to October 1910, and Minister of Interior July to November 1911, and again in December 1911. Minister of Finance July to August 1914, and Minister of Interior November 1917 to January 1918. Appointed Governor-General of Khurasan April 1918 and remained there for three years, during which he administered the province with uniform success during troublous times. Became Prime Minister and Minister of Interior June 1921 to January 1922, and again Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs from June 1922 to February 1923. Banished to Europe in October 1923, being accused of having plotted against the life of Riza Khan (Riza Shah). Was allowed to return to Tehran at the end of 1928 and arrived in March 1929, when he went to reside quietly on his property at Lahijan near Resht.

Came back to live in Tehran after the fall of Riza Shah. Prime Minister August 1942, after the fall of Suhaili. Worked hard, but gradually surrounded himself with his own relations and friends. Tried hard to gain control of the Ministry of War, but failed to counteract the young Shah's enthusiasm for the control of the army. The Shah's opposition to him was shown in the disturbances of the 8th December, 1942, in which Qavam did extremely well and undoubtedly performed a great public service in re-establishing governmental authority. Thereafter, however, he became more and more involved in petty intrigues and favouritism, and had to resign in February 1943; since when he has been more or less openly accused of being the real instigator of the riots of December 1942.

Believed to have been in touch with the Japanese Legation early in 1942, and to have received, when Prime Minister in 1942, messages from persons whom he knew to be German agents, without informing us. This was brought to the notice of the Shah in January 1944.

Became Prime Minister in February 1946 with additional offices of Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Interior. His policy was to seek reconciliation with the Soviet Government. For this purpose he went to Moscow in February 1946.

Responsible for the arrest of Sayyid Zia and General Arfa in March 1946, probably at Russian insistence. In April 1946 concluded an agreement with the Russians granting them an oil concession in the north, to be presented for approval to the 15th Majlis. Submitted to Russian pressure to settle the Azerbaijan problem by conciliatory methods in return for which the Red army was withdrawn early in May. During his first year of office he destroyed the autonomous régime of the Azerbaijan Democrats, broke up the Tudeh Party and their affiliated trade unions and established the Iran Democrat Party with which he won a big majority in the general election held in 1947. This majority gradually wasted away during the latter half of 1947—in December he was defeated in the Majlis and obliged to resign. In January 1948 he went to Europe for medical treatment. Returned to Tehran

May 1948. Abstained from overt politics but after the attempt on the Shah's life a warrant for his arrest was issued; he immediately obtained an audience of the Shah and then left for Paris where he still is.

Intriguing, ambitious and fond of money but of great experience and competence. He is a genuine patriot and has generally been friendly to His Majesty's Embassy.

144. Qavam, Ibrahim (Qavam-ul-Mulk)

Born 1888. The son of Murza Habibullah Khan Qavam-ul-Mulk, who was killed accidentally in May 1916. During the war of 1914-18 was very friendly to us, and carried on his father's traditional policy of opposition to the powerful Qashqa'i group of tribes headed by the late Ismail Khan Saulat-ud-Dauleh. Having inherited vast properties in Fars from his father, as well as the titular headship of the "Arab" tribes of that province, he wielded immense authority in the south of Persia at the time of the *coup d'Etat* of 1921. Riza Khan (late Riza Shah) when Minister for War met the Qavam at Isfahan in August 1923 and expressed a wish that he should reside at Tehran; he therefore became elected to the Majlis as member for the Khamseh (Arab) tribes and thereafter resided a good deal in Tehran. In 1929 as a result of various question of validity of title to property Qavam was given crown lands in Nishapur, in the neighbourhood of Tehran and elsewhere in the centre of Persia, in exchange for his Fars properties. It is believed that he did well out of these transactions, and that he is one of the wealthiest landowners of Persia at present.

In the 9th Majlis of 1933 he was a Deputy for Baluchistan. He had also accompanied Riza Shah on several of his journeys, and was generally supposed to enjoy His Majesty's full confidence. In November 1933, however, on the arrest of the Minister of War, Sardar As'ad, while in attendance on the Shah at the Turcoman races, the Qavam seems to have become the object of suspicion, and he was placed under arrest with As'ad.

Played his part in the "events of 1941"; he and his family at one time "took bast" in the British Legation at Gulhek; and when Riza Shah abdicated and went to Isfahan it was Qavam who was sent by the Government to obtain Riza's signature to documents handing over his properties and private fortune to the State and to his son respectively.

Visited India 1941-42 and bought a house at Bangalore.

Sent back to Shiraz to help Marshal Shahbakti with his attack on the Qashqa'is in June 1943.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars September 1943, but could not agree with any of the military chiefs about tribal policy, and returned to Tehran November 1943. Qavam's influence in the Fars of to-day is unimportant. Three or four of his family (Brigadier Qavami—Chief of Police Shiraz, &c.) hold appointments in Fars, however. The Khamseh tribes no longer look to him as their feudal chief. The general tendency among his own family, whose obedience but not consciences he commands, is to regard him with the utmost respect as the survival of a day that is gone. He himself does not seem to be conscious of, or will not admit, this passage of time.

His son, Ali Muhammad, married Princess Ashraf Pahlavi in March 1937 but the marriage was dissolved. He subsequently married a girl of the Shaibani family, daughter of Muhasib-ul-Mamalik. He had previously been an undergraduate at Bristol where he did badly. At the end of 1941 he went to Washington as Assistant Military Attaché. The other son, Riza, married a daughter of General Muqaddam and is at present employed in the

Ministry of Labour. One daughter is married to Asadullah Alam, son of the late Shaikha-ul-Mulk, and the other to Dr. Abul Qasim Nafisi.

145. Qubadian, Abbas (Amir Makhsus)

Born about 1900, son of Da'ud Khan, first paramount chief of the Kalhurs. Suspected of being pro-German in 1917-18 when Turks and Germans occupied Western Persia. Seized power in the tribe after the murder of Sulaiman Amir A'zam by Pasha Khan, Qubadian's brother, in 1922. He led a revolt against him, was captured and imprisoned. Vain and obstinate, he is at loggerheads the whole time with most of his own family. Deputy for Kermanshah in the 14th Majlis. In early 1946 succeeded in forming a union of the western tribes to combat the Tudeh and the Democrats in Kurdistan. Re-elected to the 15th Majlis for Kermanshah, which he also represented in the Constituent Assembly April 1949.

146. Quds (Nakha'i), Husain

Born about 1892. Graduate of the Tehran School of Political Science. Has held various posts under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and was secretary in London for five years. Edited, for a short time, a small literary review. Private secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs 1934. Secretary and, for a time, *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington 1935, until relations were broken off. Accused of having abused customs franchise while in charge at Washington. Secretary in London March 1937. Consul, Izmir, 1939. Counsellor in London early 1943. Returned to Persia in 1947. Appointed head of Third Political Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, April 1948. Director-general (Personnel) later 1948.

Speaks English and French. A quiet and level-headed official.

147. Radmanish, Dr. Riza

Born about 1900. In 1938 he was arrested by Riza Shah for making Communist propaganda. Elected Deputy for Lahijan in the 14th Majlis. Has been a prominent member of the Tudeh Party and the Tudeh Majlis group since its foundation and was a dominating member of the Tudeh Party General Party Conference in 1944. Edits Left-wing paper *Mardum*. One of six editors invited by the Ministry of Information to visit the United Kingdom in the autumn of 1945, but did not accept. A genuine Communist who is not best pleased with the complete subservience of the Tudeh Party to the Russians but unable to help himself. Rather naïve.

Believed to have taken refuge in Soviet Embassy after attempted assassination of Shah 4th February, 1949. Sentenced to death *in absentia* May 1949 for activities against the constitutional monarchy.

148. Rahnama, Zain-ul-Abidin

Born about 1888, one of the sons of the late Shaikh-ul-Iraqain, a Persian subject and small mujtahid of Kerbela.

Rahnama was educated in Iraq and came to Persia about 1910. He was a member of the Democratic Party and edited first the newspaper *Rahnama* and subsequently the semi-official paper *Iran*. He was elected a Deputy to the 5th and 6th terms of the Majlis. Was sent to Europe in 1923 on a mission to "boom" Persia, and stayed most of the time in Paris. Was appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Public Works at the end of 1926 and Under-Secretary to the Minister of the Interior in April 1927. In June 1927 he fell from favour and confined himself to journalism, and accompanied the Shah on his journey to Khuzistan in October 1928 as press representative.

Rahnama is an ambitious man, with plenty of "push." His great ambition has always been to obtain a Government post, which he hoped would culminate in a ministerial appointment. With that object in view, he discarded his turban and gave up his title of "shaikh." This brought him three different under-secretaryships in succession. He is intelligent and clever in a certain sense.

Went to Europe in 1933 to purchase printing machinery. In the summer of 1935 was exiled to Iraq and took up his residence in Beirut; the Shah was said to have suspected him of plotting against the régime.

Returned to Persia after the fall of Reza Shah in 1941, and resumed his editorship of the newspaper *Iran*. On a mission to the ulama of Iraq in 1942, and brought back certain messages addressed to the young Shah. Plunged into political intrigue in 1942 and after being disappointed at not being accepted by the Iraq Government as Minister, became a sort of secretary and spy in Suhaili's Administration in 1943, but soon resigned. Minister in Paris 1944. Appointed minister in Beirut February 1947.

Speaks French and English.

149. Ra'is, Mohsin

Born in Tehran about 1895. Educated in Persia and France. The eldest son of the late Zahir-ul-Mulk. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1919. Sent to Switzerland as secretary of the Persian Delegation to the League of Nations. Returned to Persia in 1924, and served in the Ministry till he was sent to Paris as counsellor in 1930. Head of the Treaty Section of the Ministry in 1933. Minister at Berlin and The Hague 1935. Political Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs September 1937. Minister at Bucharest for Roumania, Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia December 1938.

Transferred to Vichy in 1941, and returned in July 1942 to Tehran. Minister in Bagdad July 1943. Ambassador to London June 1947.

A very agreeable man, not afraid of hard work. Speaks good French. Married one of the many daughters of Farman Farma in 1935.

150. Razmara, Haji Ali, General (Sipahbud)

Trained in France, at Saint-Cyr. Born about 1900. Related to the Kimal-Hidayat family. Joined the army and commanded a regiment in 1931. Military Governor of the Khamseh tribes 1931. Commanded operations against the Kurdish insurrection of Ja'far Sultan 1932. General Officer Commanding, First Tehran Division, October 1941. Chief of the General Staff July 1943: relieved by Riazzi September 1943. Director of the Shah's Military Secretariat October 1943.

He was dismissed from the post of Chief of the General Staff at the end of 1944, but was reappointed in July 1946, though the Shah two months previously had expressed extreme distrust of him. Since that date he has successfully ingratiated himself with the Royal master. Promoted General March 1948.

An able, energetic and clever officer with a reputation as a disciplinarian: in fact, he is said to have killed a man on parade for insubordination. Ambitious and an intriguer, and he is said to trim his sails to any wind. Speaks good French, Russian and fair English.

During his time as Chief of the General Staff he has introduced many improvements in the army and gives the impression of being a patriot. Has a good sense of humour.

151. Rusta, Riza

Born about 1900. Imprisoned by Riza Shah for espionage—map stealing from the military office at Kerman. In 1944 was in close touch with the Soviet Trade Delegation and was the channel through which

Soviet help, in the form of cash, paper or transport facilities, reached the Tudeh Party. In the same year became a member of the Tudeh Inspection Committee and was strongly opposed to the moderate policy then pursued by the Tudeh Central Committee. Appointed secretary of the Central United Council of the Persian Federation of Trade Unions (Tudeh) and, following Louis Saillant's visit to Persia in 1946, was officially recognised by the World Federation of Trade Unions as representative of Persian workers.

In December 1946 complained to W.F.T.U. and British Trades Union Congress of oppression of Persian workers, arrests and victimisation. He appealed for a W.F.T.U. delegation to visit the country to investigate. On arrival of this delegation in February 1947 Rusta was closely associated with the President, El Aris, and the Russian member, Borisov. His reputation with the Persian workers was strengthened by this delegation. Arrested April 1947 on charges of high treason in connexion with the Azerbaijan secessionist movement. Released on bail of 1 million rials in November 1947, allegedly through intervention of the then Prime Minister Qavam. After his release from prison he avoided the public eye, but worked energetically and quietly consolidating the Tudeh trade union movement and organising a purge of waverers. Is believed to have left for Moscow shortly before the attempted assassination of the Shah and was sentenced to death in the subsequent trial, *in absentia*, of Tudeh leaders.

152. Sadiq, Dr. Isa (Sadiq-i-A'lam)

Born about 1892. Educated partly in England (here he was for a time munshi to Professor Browne) and partly in America, where he took a doctor's degree. Began his career in a very lowly station in the Ministry of Education. Rose to be Director of Education in Gilan. Attended an international congress on education in England about 1929, where he lectured on modern educational methods in Persia. Principal of the Teachers' College (École normale) 1932.

Minister of Public Instruction in Furughi's Cabinet September 1941. On the resignation of that Cabinet in 1942 became dean of the University of Tehran. Again Minister of Education in Suhaili's reshuffled Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Education in Bayat's Government of November 1944. As chairman of Tehran Telephone Company went to the United Kingdom to buy equipment for the Company in 1947. Minister of Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh June-December 1947. Deputy for Tehran in the Constituent Assembly April 1949.

An intelligent and go-ahead man speaking English and French. Well disposed towards Anglo-Saxon methods of education. The author of several works on education.

153. Sâdiq, Sâdiq (Mustashar-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1865. Educated at Constantinople. Was a secretary at the Persian Embassy in Turkey for many years. Elected a Deputy for Tabriz, his native town, to the 1st Majlis in 1906. Elected President of the 2nd Majlis in 1909. An ardent Constitutionalist he was arrested by Muhammad Ali Shah in 1908 and imprisoned until January 1909. Elected a member of the committee which was convened to draw up the Electoral Law. Appointed Minister of Interior in 1911, Minister of Posts in 1914 and 1915, and again Minister of Interior in 1915 and in June 1917. In the following Cabinet he was a Minister without Portfolio.

Before the war of 1914-18 he was pro-Russian, but when war broke out he espoused the cause of Germany and Turkey, and was one of the most extreme of "enemy partisans." After the war His Majesty's Legation demanded that he be exiled to some outlying province of Persia. From that time,

with the exception of a short period in 1921 when he was a Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, he lived a retired life and had little or no influence.

Appointed Persian Ambassador to Turkey in January 1931. Returned to Tehran on retirement at the end of 1935.

Minister without Portfolio in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942, and continued in that capacity, with vague duties, in Suhaili's Cabinet of February 1943. Highly respected and considered a wit, but almost useless and senile. Dropped from Cabinet December 1943.

Proposed Governor-General of Eastern and Western Azerbaijan, should agreement be reached between autonomous Azerbaijan "Government" and Central Government. Took part in discussions with mission from Azerbaijan which came to Tehran April 1946 but with no official status.

Speaks French and Turkish.

One of the "fathers of the Constitution" consulted by the Shah before summoning the Constituent Assembly in March 1949, but although he stood for election from Tehran he was not elected.

154. Sadr, Sayyid Muhsin (Sadr-ul-Ashraf)

Born about 1873. An almost unknown person in Tehran politics until appointed Minister of Justice in Furughi's Cabinet of 7th September, 1933. Spent the whole of his previous service in various judicial posts under the Ministry of Justice. Has been president of the Court of Cassation. One of the old school, who looks much better in the turban than in a hat. Was responsible for some of the new sections of the Civil Code. Resigned September 1936. Minister of Justice in Suhaili's Cabinet of 1943. Said to have been one of the pro-German "Kabud" Party in 1942.

Became Prime Minister on 6th June, 1945. Resigned October 1945. During his period of office he was bitterly attacked by all Left-wing elements and accused of being a reactionary. Did his best to resist Soviet encroachment on Northern Persia, but the pressure was too strong and he was replaced by Hakimi who was less unpopular with the Russians.

In charge of pilgrim train to Mecca on resumption of pilgrimage in autumn 1948. Appointed Governor-General, Khurasan, January 1949.

155. Sa'id (Maragheh), Muhammad Sa'id-ul-Vizareh)

Born about 1885. Educated in the Caucasus. Served in various capacities in the Persian consular posts in the Caucasus: viz., at Baku, Tiflis and Batum. Acting consul-general at Baku in 1927. Head of the Russian Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1933. Appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow in February 1934. Minister at Rome June 1936. Accredited also to Hungary 1938. Ambassador at Moscow April 1938.

Recalled from Moscow to be Minister for Foreign Affairs in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet August 1942. Held the post in Cabinet of Suhaili February 1943. In the running for Prime Minister, being favoured for that post by the Shah 1943, but the Majlis would not agree.

Appointed Prime Minister in March 1944. Resigned on 10th November, 1944. After Kavtaradze's arrival he was persistently opposed by the Tudeh and the Russians and was thus able to do little during his tenure of office. His Government's rejection in October 1944 of the Russian demand for an oil concession brought about a crisis which resulted in Sa'id's resignation.

Elected to 15th Majlis for Riza'iyeh.

Member of Regency Council during Shah's visit to the United Kingdom July 1948.

Became Prime Minister again November 1948.

A very agreeable official, whose Russian is better than his Persian. He must have an intimate knowledge of the Caucasus and of Soviet methods of administration. He has a handsome Latvian wife. Always willing to help. Appears to have no delusions about Russia.

156. Sajjadi, Dr. Muhammad

Born in 1899 in Tehran. Son of a Mulla. Employed in the Ministry of Justice by the late Davar and later transferred to the Customs as Acting Director-General 1934. Then employed in the Tobacco Monopoly until 1937, when he became Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Communications. Acting Minister of Communications on Abi's dismissal in November 1938.

Minister of Roads in Furughi's Cabinet of September 1941 and then head of the Tehran Municipality in 1942. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad by the Allied security authorities September 1943. Released at end of war 1939-45.

Director of the Exchange Control Department in the Ministry of Finance in Hakimi's Government of November 1945. Resigned November 1945.

Minister of National Economy under Qavam-us-Saltaneh September-December 1947. Again under Hakimi December 1947-June 1948. Minister of Roads under Sa'id November 1948 but changed to Justice March 1949.

Spent several years in France and speaks French. A talkative and clever man, with a rather attractive air of bluffness, but superficial. Married his brother's wife.

157. Salih, Allahyar

Graduate of the American College at Tehran. Born about 1900. For some years employed as a secretary in the American Legation at Tehran. He then entered the Ministry of Justice, where he held various appointments as judge, public prosecutor, &c. Was transferred to the Ministry of Finance through the influence of Davar, and appointed director of the opium monopoly, and afterwards director of the tobacco monopoly.

Head of the customs for a short time. Then accountant-general.

Sent to Washington on an economic mission 1941. Returned in the autumn of 1942 to be Minister of Finance in the hope that he would work well with Dr. Millsbaugh, but he proved a disappointment, quarrelled with Dr. Millsbaugh, and was allowed to resign by Suhaili in March 1943.

Sent on a Commercial Mission to India September 1943. Member of the Persian Delegation to San Francisco and spent some time in London on his way back to Persia. Minister of the Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1945 to January 1946 when he dismissed Ghulam Husain Ibtihaj, the pro-Sayyid Zia Mayor of Tehran and replaced him by Nariman, as being more acceptable to the Russians.

In Hakimi's Cabinet he was regarded as the leader of the appeasement group. Is said to have the ear of the American Embassy where his brother is a Munshi. Minister of Justice August 1946; resigned October 1946.

An intelligent and able man. Speaks French and English.

158. Salih, Dr. Jahanshah

Born 1904, brother of Allahyar Salih. Educated at the American College, Tehran, and in America where he qualified as a doctor in 1933. After post-graduate work in America he returned to Persia where he now holds the headship of various hospitals. He is Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Tehran University where he holds the professorship of anatomy and gynaecology. Served in the Finance Department before taking up medicine.

Married to an American. Speaks English and French.

159. Sam'i, Husain (Adib-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1878, a native of Resht. Spent his early career in the Ministry of Interior and was once Governor of Resht. Appointed Minister of Public Works 1921 to June 1922. In March 1923 he became Minister of Interior for three months. When the late Shah became Prime Minister in October 1923, Sam'i was chosen as his assistant, until, in August 1924, he was appointed Minister of Justice. Early in 1926 he was appointed Governor of Tehran and held that post until he was appointed Minister of Interior in June 1927. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in May 1931. Grand Master of Ceremonies (Internal) 1938. Dismissed during the Crown Prince's wedding celebrations April 1939. Ustadar (Governor-General) of the IVth Ustan (Western Azerbaijan) July 1939.

Ambassador to Kabul 1939. Returned to Tehran July 1942 and became Minister of State, without portfolio, in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942. Appointed Minister of the Interior by Suhaili in July 1943, ostensibly in order to supervise the elections to the 14th Majlis, but he soon resigned. President of the Farhangistan (Academy) at Tehran 1943. Grand Master of Ceremonies 1943.

Went to Russia at invitation of Soviet Government for anniversary of Science Academy in Tashkend 1945.

Member of Regency Council during Shah's visit to the United Kingdom July 1948, and at the same time Acting Minister of Court. Deputy for Resht to Constituent Assembly April 1949.

Sam'i is a pleasant man, but of little influence. He is not very energetic nor highly intelligent. He speaks a little French.

160. Sayyah, Hamid

Born in Isfahan 1886. Brother of Humayun Sayyah. Educated at Moscow. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1916. For some time a judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry. Commercial secretary at Moscow 1922-26. A director of the Caspian Fisheries Joint Board 1927-31. Chief of the Russian section at the Ministry in 1932. In charge of the Eastern Department 1933. Consul-general at Beirut March 1934. Minister at Warsaw June 1936.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Furughi's Cabinet of September 1941, and was most helpful to us. Again Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942 until January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs again December 1943. Minister of Communications in Sa'id's Cabinet March-August 1944. Accompanied Qavam to Moscow in February 1946. Appointed minister to Moscow March 1946. Returned October 1946 and became Minister of Commerce and Industry until June 1947. Re-appointed Ambassador at Moscow November 1947. Recalled April 1949 and appointed Minister of Roads May 1949.

Speaks French and Russian. Married his cousin, Fatimeh Khanum Sayyah, but afterwards divorced her. An agreeable but not a brilliant personality. He knows too much about Russian methods ever to incline towards bolshevism. A good bridge player.

161. Sayyah, Kazim

Born about 1892. A family of Turkish descent, sometimes calling themselves Sayyah-Sipankou, and not related to Hamid Sayyah. Served in the Turkish army in the 1914-18 war, and taken prisoner by the British troops 1917. Then employed in the Caucasus where he had various adventures

in 1920 and 1921. A strong supporter of Sayyid Zia in the latter's *coup d'Etat* of 1921, and when the Sayyid fell he fled with him to Switzerland. Returned to Persia about 1923 and was imprisoned by Riza Shah for some time. Then employed under the Ministry of Industry in supervising the factories at Isfahan. Was also in charge of the Fine Arts Department at that place 1940 to 1942. Fell under suspicion as pro-German owing to his relations with the factory engineers, most of whom were Germans. Transferred to Tehran 1942 and put in charge of the glycerine factory. In 1943 employed by the Americans in the price stabilisation section of the Ministry of Finance. Appointed "Rais-i-Intizam" or head of the organisation section of the Ministry of Interior 1944. Kazim Sayyeh is well known as a strong supporter of Sayyid Zia. His appointment as "Rais-i-Intizam," therefore, raised an outcry by all Left-wing elements and by those who favoured a policy of appeasement towards the Russians. Appointed one of the directors of the Tehran Electricity Company 1945. Director-General in Ministry of Labour and Propaganda April 1947.

A man of the world, capable of good work, and claims to be well-disposed towards us. Married to a Greek.

162. Shafa'i, Isma'il, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Tehran about 1885. Educated in Persia and Russia. Joined the Cossack Brigade in 1910. Appointed chief of the arsenal in 1922. Visited Europe in 1923, and again in 1926, in connexion with the purchase of machinery for a new arsenal. Promoted brigadier-general March 1932. Went to Europe that year to purchase military stores. Ceased to control the arsenal in 1934 on going to Europe, where he remained, usually at Berne, as chief of the Arms Purchasing Commission until 1937, when he returned to Persia.

Employed at Court 1943 and supervised the arms and powder factories; his services appear to have pleased the Russians.

Minister of Industry December 1943, but in coping with a strike had the misfortune accidentally to kill one of the strikers. Resigned March 1944. Military attaché to Moscow September 1944. Returned with Qavam in February 1946. Deputy Chief of General Staff November 1946. Placed on retired list June 1949. Believed to have been Razmara's go-between with the Russians.

An amiable and jolly old soldier. Speaks Russian and German.

163. Shabbakhti, Muhammad, General (Sipahbud)

Born about 1882, the son of a peasant inhabiting the village of Ishtihar, near Tehran, but has now been heard to describe himself as a native of Azerbaijan, possibly to cover up his humble origin.

He enlisted in the Cossack Brigade about 1901, distinguished himself by bravery in the field, and received a commission. In 1914 he was a captain. He attached himself to Riza Khan, whose influence with General Starosselsky secured him promotion to the rank of colonel in 1919. After the *coup d'Etat* of 1921 he was appointed to command the Aban regiment of infantry. In 1925 he was promoted brigadier and given command of an infantry brigade in Tehran. In 1926 he was sent to command the western division, but was recalled in the spring of 1928 for corruption; he was appointed shortly afterwards to command the Persian troops in Kurdistan. In December 1928 he was sent to command the troops in Fars, but was superseded by General Shaibani.

Appointed to command the troops in Azerbaijan in 1932. Promoted to the rank of Amir Lashgar (major-general) in March of that year. Transferred

to Ahwaz as general officer commanding January 1939.

Appointed commander of the western forces October 1941, with the rank of general (sipahbud). Controlled the Kermanshah area pretty thoroughly, ignoring completely the civil governor, till he was transferred to Fars to quell the Qashqa'is under Nasir Qashqa'i in February 1943. He was not very successful in that campaign and after the defeat of the garrison at Simirum in July 1943 came to Tehran to report. Suspected of taking large bribes when at Kermanshah and again from the Qashqa'is.

Placed on the retired list October 1943. Recalled to active list 1947. Appointed Inspector of Troops in Azerbaijan, which appointment was changed to Commander-in-chief of Forces in Azerbaijan early in 1949. Thought somewhat arrogant, he is a very charming old man and has a great reputation in Azerbaijan.

An almost entirely uneducated survival from the Cossack Brigade, resembling in appearance the more famous product of that corps, Riza Shah.

164. Shams-ul-Mulk Ara'i, Asadullah (Shahab-ud-Daulah), K.C.V.O.

A Qajar prince. Born about 1880. Educated in Persia. For many years employed in the Telegraph Department. Governor of Yezd in 1911. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs 1914-15. Minister of Public Works 1915. Master of Ceremonies at the Court 1922-25. Governor of Kermanshah 1929. Recalled 1933, and appointed Governor of Kurdistan in October 1934. Recalled April 1936, owing, it is said, to having incurred the displeasure of the Shah through not accelerating reforms in his province.

Holds the dignity of K.C.V.O., received when in attendance on Ahmad Shah during his visit to London in 1919.

Governor-General of Fars early 1942, but was superseded in the following summer, without having accomplished much. Governor-General of Kermanshah October 1946.

A rather pompous man, said to be a great intriguer; but he is not averse to the society of foreigners, and probably regrets the good old days.

Speaks English and French fluently.

165. Sharukh, Bahram

One of the six sons of Arbab Jamshid Sharukh, formerly Zoroastrian Deputy in the Majlis and murdered by order of Riza Shah during the last war. He has studied in Germany and has visited England several times.

Married to a German, by whom he has three children. During the war he was in Berlin and constituted himself leader of the Persian colony there, displaying strong pro-German sympathies. For a considerable time he broadcast in Persian from Berlin radio, his talks being listened to eagerly in Persia on account of their eloquence and vitriolic invective against the British. At the end of the war he was in Turkey and did not return to Persia until 1947. After returning to Germany for several months he decided to settle in Persia. He is agent for Gestetners and is trying to obtain agencies for German firms.

In addition to his commercial activities Sharukh takes a keen interest in politics having managed to gain the confidence of many prominent politicians. He is clever, confident and his chequered career shows him to possess considerable courage and an iron nerve. In spite of his European upbringing he is a genuine Persian at heart, combining considerable patriotism with unlimited vanity. His political ambitions are much hampered by his being a Zoroastrian. He still hankers after national socialism which he thinks may have a future in Persia. Now claims to be strongly pro-British.

Speaks excellent German, English and French.

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166. Siasi, Dr. Ali Akbar

Born 1893. Educated in France 1911 and stayed in France till the outbreak of the 1914 war. Took a course in pedagogy. Employed as dragoman and Persian secretary at the French Legation from about 1917 to April 1941. At the same time he was instructor in psychology and law at the University of Tehran; later professor. Went to Europe 1927 and took a further course in France, obtaining a doctorate in philosophy. Married the daughter of the late Bayat, and so acquired wealth. One of the founders of the French-sponsored "Young Persian Club" in 1921.

Minister of Education August 1942. Resigned from Suhaili's Cabinet in August 1943. Dean of the University of Tehran. Minister without Portfolio in Bayat's Government 1944.

Member of Persian delegation to San Francisco Conference March 1945. Visited United Kingdom after the conference.

Invited by Soviet Government to visit Tashkend for the twentieth anniversary of the Science Academy there December 1945.

An intelligent man with a perfect command of French; his outlook is more French than Persian in some respects. Always polite and agreeable to talk to. Is also able to make a very good speech in English.

Minister of Education in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947. Resigned April 1948 after being attacked in the Majlis for saying that the university should be free not only from political but also from religious control. Arrested after the attempted assassination of the Shah at the university 4th February, 1949, but immediately released.

167. Sipahbudi, Anushirvan

Born in Tehran about 1890. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1907 and worked there till 1910. Vice-consul at Vladikavkaz in 1910, and thereafter served at different posts in the Caucasus till 1918. Then chief of a section at the Ministry; in charge of the Protocol Department in 1926. Minister in Switzerland 1929-33. Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs July 1933. At the beginning of 1934 made minister at Rome, being accredited also to Vienna, Prague and Budapest. Ambassador at Moscow June 1936 until April 1938. Minister, Paris, July 1938 and also accredited to Spain in June 1939.

Ambassador to Turkey 1940. Minister for Foreign Affairs June-October 1945. Minister for Justice in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946. Ambassador in Paris August 1946. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs by Qavam in June 1947, but did not take up his post. Recalled to Persia February 1948.

A man of no particular family, he has made his way to the top while still young. Speaks French and Russian. Is quite well supplied with brains, but is often too lazy to use them. On friendly terms with Shah. Hates Russians.

168. Sipahr, Ahmad Ali (Muvarrrikh-ud-Daulah)

In June 1942 he was mixed up in a German plot involving Qavam-us-Saltaneh and Husain Ali Qaraguzlu (not the same man as No. 137). Was Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at the beginning of 1944. In February 1944 became Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry. He was removed from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the summer of 1944 and remained without an appointment until August 1945 when he was appointed head of the Caspian Fisheries, a post which brought him into close touch with the Russians. Closely associated with Qavam-us-Saltaneh and joined the Cabinet as Minister for Commerce and Industry in 1946. Dismissed from Cabinet and banished to Kashan July 1946. Permitted to return to Tehran December 1946.

For a time remained in retreat but reappeared in social life after Qavam's fall in December 1947. In June 1948 tried to get himself put up as Prime Minister but only obtained the support of a few unimportant newspapers and was never considered a serious candidate.

Mistrusted by the majority of people, he is trying to get a European minister or ambassador appointment.

An incorrigible intriguer and corrupt even by Persian standards.

162. Suhaili, Ali

Born about 1890. Educated partly in Russia and talks Russian well, also French and a little English. His career has been in various Government administrations. In January 1931 was appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Roads and Communications under Kazimi. In September 1933 he was transferred to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as Under-Secretary, when Kazimi was appointed Minister. Suhaili had also served as chief Persian representative on the board of the Caspian Fisheries Directorate. Several times Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in the absence of his chief. Minister in London March 1937. Minister for Foreign Affairs May 1938, but dismissed in July, owing to the late Shah's displeasure over a telegram concerning the Paris Exhibition. Ustadar (Governor-General) of the VIIIth Ustan (Kerman) February 1939. Ambassador, Kabul, October 1939.

Became Prime Minister, rather unexpectedly, in March 1942, after having been Minister for Foreign Affairs in Faruqi's Cabinet from September 1941 (during which time he was the Persian signatory of the Tripartite Treaty of February 1942). His Cabinet fell in July 1942, partly owing to lack of support from the Court and the army. Again Prime Minister on the fall of Qavam-us-Saltaneh in February 1943, once more unexpectedly; this time it was largely because Mu'tamin-ul-Mulk could not stand and the Majlis did not want the Shah's candidate, Sa'id. Proved himself once more a hard worker, but carried little weight in the country and had to maintain himself by various "combinations" and political deals with Majlis Deputies.

During 1944-45 he was frequently a strong candidate for the Premiership but was suspected by many of being too well-disposed towards the Russians. Went to Egypt in the summer of 1945 and was made member of the Persian delegation to U.N.O. in January 1946.

Was tried in February 1948 for illegal interference in the elections for the 14th Majlis and on other political charges, but was acquitted. Minister without Portfolio in Hakimi's Cabinet March 1948. Appointed Ambassador to Paris June 1948.

A very reasonable, matter-of-fact person, with a businesslike manner. Hard working and approachable. In his contacts with His Majesty's Embassy he has always given the impression of his willingness to help and to arrive at a reasonable settlement. He has the reputation of being a liar and of rarely keeping his word.

He is universally suspected of having taken a great many bribes. Has a Caucasian wife.

170. Sarori, Muhammad

Born about 1900. Served in various Government Departments, being one of the favoured young men selected by Davar, then Minister of Justice, when he revised the organisation of the Ministry in 1929. Has been judge in the Tehran courts, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice. Director of the Agricultural Bank 1942, but removed from that post June 1943. Posted to the Ministry of the Interior to look after it till Hazhir's return, January 1944. Minister of Interior in Sa'id's Cabinet of August 1944 and again in Bayat's Cabinet in

November 1944-June 1945. He did well, but incurred the displeasure of the Tudch party when he arrested the worst of the professional toughs of Tehran and imprisoned them in Bandar Abbas.

Minister of Justice under Hakimi December 1947-June 1948.

Businesslike and said to be honest. Lacking in real initiative, but carries out orders efficiently.

171. Taba, Dr. Abdul Husain

Born in Tehran about 1911. Educated in medicine in England and qualified in medicine and surgery after eight years in Birmingham and at Guy's Hospital. Real name is Tabataba'i of the Yezdi family of that name. Employed by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as a doctor 1940-42, and since practising in Tehran. Elected to the 15th Majlis for Na'in, which he also represented in the Constituent Assembly April 1949.

A bright young man who seems keen on his profession. Married the youngest daughter of Vusuq-ud-Dauleh.

172. Tabataba'i, Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq

Second son of the late Sayyid Muhammad Tabataba'i, who was a prominent figure in the Nationalist movement of 1906 to 1910. Born in Tehran about 1880. Elected to the 3rd and 4th Majlis. In close touch with pro-Germans during the war of 1914-18. Emigrated to Turkey in 1916. Returned in 1918 and co-operated with Sulaiman Mirza in forming the Socialist party. During this phase he was in close touch with the Soviet Embassy. Ambassador to Turkey 1924-27. Recalled in 1927 and offered a post as a judge in the High Court of Appeal, but did not accept it.

Was more or less under arrest for about ten years in Tehran until the fall of Riza Shah 1941. Gradually entered political life after that and initiated and fostered the "Millat" party ("The Nation").

Head of the Election Committee for Tehran 1943-44, and himself elected Deputy.

Elected President of the 14th Majlis.

An opium addict for thirty years, he frequently found it difficult to keep awake when he was presiding over the Majlis. An incorrigible intriguer he stands close to the Shah to whom he has always offered bad advice. His "liberal" ideas are not to be taken seriously. He and his friends pride themselves on their patriotism and the pursuit of the middle way between Britain and the U.S.S.R. For reasons unknown he is generally regarded as a "national" figure. Would like to be Prime Minister. Unsuccessful candidate for Tehran in elections for 15th Majlis, but elected from Tehran to the Constituent Assembly, of which he was elected President April 1949.

Member of the Regency Council during the Shah's journey to Europe July 1948.

Speaks French.

173. Tabataba'i, Sayyid Zia-ud-Din

Born about 1893. Son of the late Sayyid Ali Yazdi Tabataba'i. Edited the newspaper *Rad* (Thunder) in Tehran in 1915-16. Played a considerable political rôle in 1917-18. Sent to Baku by Vusuq-ud-Dauleh in 1919 as Persian representative to Caucasian Azerbaijan. While in Baku he issued a long statement entitled "A new Epoch in the History of Persia." This statement was a spirited defence of the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1919 which, although it had not been ratified by the Majlis, he endeavoured to bring into force during his brief period of office as Prime Minister. Returned to Tehran in May 1920. Carried out *coup d'Etat* with the help of the Cossacks in February 1921, and seized the reins of office. Appointed Prime Minister with full powers by Ahmad Shah on 1st March, 1921, and effected numerous arrests. His reforms

were too radical for the country and the time, and he fell from power in June, fleeing the country. He was in the tobacco business while exiled.

Took a prominent part in the Pan-Islamic Congress at Jerusalem in 1933.

Said to have assisted Kazimi in the negotiations with Iraq at Geneva during 1935.

In 1942, being by that time the owner of a very prosperous farm near Chazza in Palestine, which he had developed himself, he began to think of returning to his native country, and Muzaffar Firuz began with great energy and indiscretion to run a newspaper campaign in his favour in Tehran. He published a letter from the Sayyid in which the Russians were praised in fulsome language. His name came forward a good deal in the Tehran press during 1943, and quite a number of Deputies in the 13th Majlis seem to have favoured his return. The Russians and the Shah, however, were steadfastly opposed to his return, the former because they mistrusted Firuz's unfortunate letter, and the latter through fear that the Sayyid might become a dictator. However, he returned to Tehran in September 1943 and was elected to the 14th Majlis from Yezd, his native place. Caused annoyance by insisting on wearing a woollen hat of Caucasian style, and alienated some of his friends by an appearance of stubbornness and obstinacy.

Founded a political party which in the summer of 1945 was officially launched under the name of "Iradeh-i-Milli" or National Will. His followers claimed that the party numbered about 9,000 in Tehran, at the end of 1945. Was the particular bugbear of the Tudch and the Russians, who never tired of vilifying him as the arch-enemy of his country and the principal tool in Persia of imperialists, reactionaries, &c. During the near-panic which prevailed in Tehran in November-December 1945 as a result of the approach of the Azerbaijan Democrats towards Qazvin many leading politicians and Deputies began seriously to consider that Sayyid Zia should be exiled from Persia as a sop to the Russians.

His continued opposition to Qavam-us-Saltaneh's pro-Soviet gambits in the beginning of 1946 resulted in his arrest and imprisonment but this was changed to house arrest a year later and shortly afterwards he was released. Early in 1948 the Shah tried without success to enlist his support for his project of constitutional reform. Thereafter Court and Government circles evinced great hostility towards him and he was widely accused of disloyalty and even of pro-Soviet sympathies. There was, however, no concrete evidence to support these charges. On the other hand, although he was mainly preoccupied with his experiments in agriculture, Sayyid Zia-ud-Din was known to have criticised the Shah's "unconstitutional" behaviour. But he remained rabidly opposed to communism and the Russians in general.

After the attempt on the Shah's life in February 1949 he made his peace with His Majesty and has remained on good terms with him since. As a result the number of his enemies has dwindled.

Scrupulously honest, religious, widely read and travelled, of active habits and practical outlook. Sayyid Zia-ud-Din is an unusual Persian. Originally a journalist by profession he has become a successful farmer. His main faults are obstinacy and impatience of criticism. He speaks English, French, Arabic and Turkish.

174. Tadayun, Sayyid Muhammad

Born about 1884, a native of Birjand in East Persia; educated in Tehran, where he graduated and became a schoolmaster. After the split up of the original Democrat Party in 1912, Tadayun became the leader of one of the more important Democrat

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factions. He was elected a Deputy from Tehran to the 4th term of the Majlis, and from Birjand to the 5th and 6th terms. Was elected President of the Majlis in the second half of the 5th term, and again at the beginning of the 6th term. In February 1927 he was appointed Minister of Education, but in December he resigned that appointment owing to disagreement with his colleagues in the Cabinet, but he resumed office nine days later at the personal request of the Shah. On 7th January, 1928, the Shah ordered him to resign, and his fall was said to be due to the personal animosity towards him of Taimurtash. In June 1930 he was appointed Governor of Kerman.

He was recalled from Kerman in March 1931, and he appears to believe that one reason for his recall was that he was too friendly with Lieutenant-Colonel Noel, then British Consul.

Returned to politics on the fall of Riza Shah; was Minister of Education in Faruqi's Cabinet of 1941-42, and spoke eloquently in favour of the Tripartite Treaty of 1942. Minister of Food after Farrukh in 1942; resigned in July 1943. Minister of the Interior September 1943 and did well in running the elections. But was not included in the reshuffled Cabinet of December 1943. Tried in summer of 1947 on a charge of interfering with elections for 14th Majlis and acquitted.

A pleasant man of dignified mien; very friendly to us. He exerts a certain influence in political circles and still aspires to Ministerial office.

175. Tahiri, Dr. Hadi

Born at Yezd about 1888. Son of a mulla. Formerly a landowner and proprietor of various concerns at Yezd. A great rival of the Navvab family of Yezd. Elected to the Majlis on various occasions, and has served as president of the Financial Commission of the Majlis. In the 13th Majlis was one of the Vice-Presidents and was considered one of the leading members of the Majlis. Served on the Committee of the Anglo-Iranian Relief Fund, 1943, and was helpful in providing local knowledge. Was largely responsible for the success of Sayyid Zia-ud-Din in the Yezd elections of 1943, thereby incurring the dislike and distrust of the Shah. Very friendly to us. Accused of various peculations at Yezd, but nothing was proved.

In the 14th Majlis he was, with Sayyid Kazim Jalili Yazdi, the most influential Deputy. Bitterly anti-Soviet he worked hard to maintain the Majlis majority against Soviet pressure. Though very slow in speech and manner he is extremely astute and had a profound knowledge of his Majlis colleagues and particularly of their weak points. Though patriotic he would not allow his patriotism to interfere unduly with his personal interests in Yezd. He has a congenital aversion to the obvious course and delights to achieve his objectives by devious means through the agency of others. It would be idle to pretend that he has progressive ideas.

Arrested November 1946 for political activities against Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Released February 1947. Appointed Minister without Portfolio under Sa'id November 1948.

176. Taqizadeh, Sayyid Hasan

Born in Tabriz about 1880, the son of a small preacher. He was educated in his native town, and used to haunt the booksellers' shops, where he showed great eagerness to acquire knowledge. In his early youth he was an ardent Nationalist, and was connected with the Nationalist movement in Persia from the beginning. He was elected to the 1st term of the Majlis and was one of its most prominent members.

In the *coup d'Etat* of 1908 Taqizadeh took refuge in His Majesty's Legation and as a condition of his amnesty went to the United Kingdom. Returned late 1908 and played prominent part in 2nd Majlis.

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Elected to 3rd and 4th Majlises *in absentia*. He stayed in Europe and America during the whole period from 1914 to 1923 and was for years in Berlin, where he edited a paper called *Kaveh*. He negotiated the Perso-Soviet Commercial Treaty in Moscow in February 1921, and finally returned to Persia in 1924. Member of 5th and 6th Majlises. Appointed Governor-General of Khurasan in January 1929; he was recalled in May and appointed Persian Minister in London, where he remained until April 1930, when he returned to Persia and became Minister of Roads and Communications. In August 1930 he was appointed Minister of Finance in addition.

Tagizadeh fell from grace in September 1923, for reasons which are obscure. The Shah is said to have suspected him of intrigue with Majlis members in connexion with the purchase of gold. He was, however, soon re-employed as minister in Paris.

Recalled from Paris in August 1934, but obtained prolonged leave of absence and did not return to Persia. Appointed Persian representative at the Congress of Orientalists at Rome in September 1935. Appointed minister in London by Furughi 1941 and became ambassador in 1944. Headed Persian Delegation to the United Nations Organisation in London in January 1946 and ably presented the Persian case when the Security Council considered the Perso-Russian dispute about Azerbaijan. Appointed to act as Persian representative in winding up the League of Nations in Geneva March 1946.

Elected Deputy for Tabriz in 15th Majlis and as the five years of his appointment in London had ended he agreed to return to Persia to take his seat. As an old friend he helped Hakimi when the latter became Prime Minister in December 1947.

In a speech in the Majlis in January 1949 he said that he signed the 1933 A.L.O.C. Concession under emphatic orders from Riza Shah and against his better judgement. This brought into being a vociferous school of thought that the concession was therefore invalid and thereby provoked the present demand for its revision.

Elected to the Constituent Assembly April 1949, but did not attend because of "illness."

He is married to a German and talks German fluently. He speaks English and French less well.

177. Valatabar, Abul-Fath (Hishmat-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1885. A member of the Tabataba'i family of Tabriz. A chamberlain of Muzaffar-ud-Din-Shah when the latter was Crown Prince residing in Tabriz. Private secretary to Muhammad Ali Shah before he came to the throne, and continued in that post till 1909. An open enemy of the Nationalists. Governor of Resht in 1915. Minister of War 1916-17. Governor of Kerman 1918-19. Minister of the Interior 1920. Imprisoned by Sayyid Zia. Governor-General of Khurasan May 1924; resigned the next year owing to differences with the military authorities.

Aspired to employment in a suitable post at court, and attained an appointment as a kind of chamberlain at the court in 1943. A respectable old-timer who helped us during the 1914-18 war and received a K.B.E. He took no part in politics during Riza Shah's reign.

Appointed Governor-General, Azerbaijan, April 1949. Represented Tabriz in Constituent Assembly April 1949.

Has owned large properties near Tabriz, but has spent most of his substance. Speaks French.

178. Varasteh, Muhammad Ali

Was Under-Secretary to the Ministry of the Interior and in 1942 was transferred to the Ministry of Finance. 1944-46 Governor-General of Isfahan, where he enjoyed the support of the Shah and was considered by His Majesty's Consul to have been honest and done his best to maintain law and order.

Minister of Post and Telegraphs in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948. Joined Hazhir's Cabinet as Minister of Finance September-November 1948.

179. Vusug, Hasan, G.C.B. (Vusug-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1868. Began his career in the Ministry of Finance. Elected a Deputy to the 1st and 2nd terms of the Majlis, and in 1909 chosen to be a member of the Nationalist Committee, which directed the affairs of State after the abdication of Muhammad Ali Shah. His first Cabinet appointment was as Minister of Justice in October 1909. In the following month he became Minister of Finance, but resigned in July 1910. In July 1911 he became Minister for Foreign Affairs. Again Minister for Foreign Affairs in January 1913, he left for Europe in June of the same year. Minister for Foreign Affairs July-August 1914 and Minister of Finance August-December 1915. Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs August 1916 to May 1917. Prime Minister and Minister of Interior from August 1918 to June 1920. Negotiated the Anglo-Persian Convention of 1919. Visited Europe in June 1920, and only returned to Persia at the beginning of 1926. Appointed Minister of Finance in June 1926, but resigned in November to take his seat in Parliament. Elected as a Deputy from Tehran to the 7th term of the Majlis 1928-30. Appointed president of the new "Academy" for the revision of the Persian language December 1935.

A man of great ability and character. He became unpopular over the Anglo-Persian Convention, but, after a most able and convincing defence of his acts as Prime Minister during the period 1918-20 before the Majlis, he regained a large measure of popularity.

Went to Europe for a serious operation 1940; survived it, unable to return to Persia; he was appointed ambassador to Turkey by his brother, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in 1942, but could not proceed.

Returned to Persia summer 1946. Is now too old to take an active part in politics.

Speaks French fluently, also a little English.

180. Yazdan Panah, Murtiza, General (Sipahbud)

Born about 1891; son of Mirza Ali Akbar, a small shopkeeper in the village of Sardasht. In 1907 he entered the Cossack Cadet School. Received his commission in 1912, showed strong pro-Russian sympathies, and consequently gained rapid promotion. Made lieutenant-colonel in 1919 and colonel in 1920. During the whole of his service he was intimate with Riza Khan, and accompanied him on the march to Tehran in February 1921 which culminated in the *coup d'Etat*. Was promoted general and given command of the Central Division. In July 1927 he fell from favour, and was put under arrest for a short time for an unknown reason. Whatever the suspicions against him were, they appear to have been unsubstantiated, for he was released very soon. In the autumn of 1928 he was appointed inspector of the gendarmerie, but was superseded in 1930 and left without any active command.

Inspector of Infantry in 1932. Commandant of Tehran Cadet College 1933.

On the fall of Riza Shah, he became Chief of the General Staff, and worked as a loyal supporter of the young Shah.

Appointed adjutant-general to the Shah autumn 1943, a post he still retains. Member of the Perso-Soviet Cultural Relations Committee February 1944.

Leader of military contingent chosen to represent Persia at Victory Parade in London June 1946. Minister of War in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948, since when he has held the sinecure appointment of Inspector of the Central Garrison.

He is active, intelligent, honest, genial and staunchly patriotic. Although he is one of the Shah's closest

advisers, he does not have a very high opinion of him personally, though he is devoted to the monarchy. He is one of the few senior army officers who are incorruptible.

Speaks French and Russian and has a Russian wife.

181. Yazdi, Dr. Murtiza

Born about 1900. Educated in Germany where he is reported to have joined the Communist Party. Often represented Tudeh workers in negotiations between them and their employers. In early months of 1946 made a tour of the south and south-east in an effort to whip up Tudeh support and was responsible in large measure for the troubles in Isfahan in April of that year. A member of the Directing Committee of the Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society 1946. Minister of Health under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August-October 1946 when he used his position to fill important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers.

After the attempt on the Shah's life he was tried with other Tudeh leaders and sentenced to five years' solitary confinement April 1949.

182. Zahidi, Fazlullah (Basir-i-Divan), Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Hamadan about 1890. His father was for many years in charge of the late Nasir-ul-Mulk's property at Hamadan. Joined the Constitutional movement and was wounded. Joined the Cossacks and thus came into contact with Riza Khan, under whom he served. Commanded the troops at Shiraz in 1922. In 1924 commanded the troops sent to Khuzistan, and helped to arrest the Sheikh of Muhammerah in 1925. Transferred to Resht in 1926, where he commanded the Northern Independent Brigade. Recalled to Tehran December 1928. Commanded the Road Guards 1929. Arrested and degraded for neglect of duty in 1929. Soon after he was pardoned and reinstated. Chief of Police 1931. Relieved of this post after a few months owing to the escape of some prisoners from prison. Dismissed from the army in 1931. Turned his attention to business and became a partner in the "Kazadema" Ford agency. Reinstated in the rank of general 1932 and made aide-de-camp to the Shah. Member of the Iranian commercial delegation to Russia in April 1935, and subsequently visited Central Europe.

Commanded troops at Isfahan 1942, and gradually took charge of all departments of Government; proof was found that he was working with the Germans, and he was arrested by British troops and taken out of Persia in the autumn of 1942. Released in 1945. Appointed Inspector of the Forces of the South July 1946. Placed on the retired list June 1949.

More of a politician than a soldier. Made a good deal of money in Khuzistan. Being capable of generosity he was not unpopular with the troops under his command.

Married the daughter of Husain Pirnia (Mu'tamin-ul-Mulk) in 1927, but divorced her and subsequently married one of the rich Irtihadih family.

183. Zand, Ibrahim

Born about 1890. Educated at the Cadet College at St. Petersburg. Then sent to study law in France, where he was a contemporary and friend of Javad Amiri. Towards the end of the 1914-18 war became an active member of the Musawat Party in Azerbaijan, and in 1919 became a member of the short-lived Azerbaijan Government. After its fall he went back to France, and a few years after returned to

Persia, where Davar employed him in the Ministry of Justice as an adviser. He was subsequently transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and in 1938 became a member of the board of the National Bank. On the appointment of A. H. Ibtihaj as director of that bank he left the bank and was employed at Court as Comptroller of the Royal Accounts. Minister of War in Suhaili's third Cabinet December 1943. Minister of War in Sa'id's Cabinets March and April 1944, in Bayat's Cabinet November 1944, Hakimi's Cabinet May 1945 and Sadr's Cabinet June 1945. Governor-General, Isfahan, January 1949.

Suffers from ill-health and has made frequent trips to Palestine for treatment. A patriotic and honest man with a background of military training of the Russia of Tsarist days. Had sound ideas about eliminating corruption in the army but lacked courage to enforce his will.

Married to the sister of Farajullah Bahrami. Speaks Russian extremely well, probably better than Persian.

184. Zanganeh, Dr. Ahmad Ibrahim

Born c. 1909. Director of Industrial and Mining Bank and for a time managing director of this bank. He had been connected with the Planning Organisation of the 7-Year Plan for some time before being appointed a member of the Council of the Plan on its creation in May 1949. Has shown keen interest in economic development schemes. Said to be progressive and active.

185. Zarin-Kafsh, Ali Asghar

Born about 1885, of a Tehran family of Kurdish descent. Educated at the Political School in Tehran, and employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in subsidiary posts for several years. In 1923 and 1924 was head of a section of the Ministry and was always very courteous and helpful whenever referred to by members of this embassy. Served as "chef de Cabinet" to Furughi while the latter was Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was subsequently posted to Washington, where he spent more than a year as secretary to the Persian Legation. He was recalled to Tehran in about 1927, and served in the Ministry of Justice for a time under Davar, at the time when the Ministry was being fundamentally re-formed. He was for a time a judge of the Cour de Cassation. He then was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, where he was serving as Under-Secretary when the Minister of the Interior, Ali Mansur, was transferred to the Ministry of Roads on 26th January, 1933. From thenceforward he served as Acting Minister of the Interior until Furughi's Cabinet was formed in September 1933.

Proceeded to England as commissioner of the Persian Government with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in December 1933, with his wife and two children. Honorary counsellor to the legation in London 1937.

Returned to Persia December 1940. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice from 1941. Has always been helpful in settling cases and giving advice on points of Persian law. On Hikmat's resignation from Suhaili's Cabinet in June 1943, became Acting Minister of Justice, but on the appointment of Sadr as Minister returned to the post of Under-Secretary. Minister of Finance 1944. Appointed chairman, Industrial and Mining Bank February 1948. Replaced towards the end of the year.

Speaks English and French.

Zarin Kafsh is honest and socially most pleasant. In 1945 he joined the Iradeh-i-Milli Party and has a very high regard for Sayyid Zia.

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No. 49

PERSIA: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS, 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 10th January)

(No. 3)

Sir, *Tehran, 5th January, 1949.*

With reference to Foreign Office circular 047 of 14th December, 1944, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a report on the heads of foreign diplomatic missions at this post.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 49

Report on Heads of Foreign Missions in Tehran

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Afghanistan

Rahimollah Khan, ambassador (3rd February, 1947).

For some years Minister of Mines and of Public Works and Roads at Kabul. Though an obscure little man, is most friendly. He speaks good English, and especially since the transfer of power in India is always keen to show his friendliness to us. Has been involved in some publicity owing to the Helmand River dispute, in the course of which he was victimised last summer by the Persian Government, who, quite unnecessarily, boycotted his annual reception owing to discontent with the attitude of the Afghan Government.

Argentina

Eduardo L. de Colombres Marmol, minister (21st March, 1948).

A young politician who has seen little of the world outside his own country and has had no previous experience of diplomacy. It is not conceivable that he will find anything to do here unless it is to keep an eye on his Brazilian and United States colleagues. He is friendly but not in any way impressive, and is said to have some difficulty in preventing his heterogeneous staff (one of whom is a dentist by profession) from creating unfortunate minor incidents.

Mme. de Colombres is amiable but mousy and must be a good deal older than her husband.

Belgium

Comte Antoine de Laubespain, minister (12th January, 1946).

*Formerly counsellor of the Belgian Embassy in London, he is well informed about and well disposed towards England. Intelligent and agreeable, but he has poor health and rather a pale personality. Both he and his French wife are most friendly. (Written in 1946.)

Brazil

Decio de Moura, minister (14th October, 1947).

A young career diplomatist in his first ministerial post. He is intelligent and quick in his appreciation of the complexities of the political situation here and most friendly both to us and the Americans.

Mme. de Moura is ornamental and agreeable. She is said to be very wealthy and is on intimate terms with Princess Ashraf.

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Chile

Manuel Garretón, minister (20th June, 1946).

Resident in Angora.

*A political appointee who is reputed to have sympathy with the Extreme Left. He lives at Angora and during the few weeks he was in Persia he contrived to keep his political views under stern control, although at that time the star of the Tudeh was in the ascendant. I did not see much of him, but he made an agreeable impression. (Written in 1946.) He hardly ever visits Tehran.

China

Ye Tung Cheng, ambassador (24th September, 1946).

He is both intelligent, friendly and easy to get on with. He has an agreeable wife, who has taken naturally to a spirit of cheerfulness of an American brand. They entertain generously and have a large family. The eldest son, of whom they are very proud, is an undergraduate at Oxford.

Czechoslovakia

Vacant, minister.

Ivo Spoutil, chargé d'affaires *ad interim*.

Has been in charge since the departure of M. Kudrat in October. He is painfully anxious to convey the impression that he is only waiting for an opportunity to follow his minister into political exile. He may do so yet, but his obsequious manner is far from attractive or convincing and he must be treated with caution until he declares himself more openly. Slansky, brother of the secretary of the Communist Party at Prague, has been appointed here as chargé d'affaires but has not yet arrived.

Denmark

Axel Kaspar Frederik Sporon-Fiedler, minister (14th October, 1947).

Before coming to Persia he was for many years consul-general in San Francisco and had obviously taken root there. He is meticulously formal and precise but hospitable and kindly.

Mme. Sporon-Fiedler, though vague, is agreeable and has a somewhat clearer idea than her husband of what is going on round her.

Egypt

A. F. Assal Bey, ambassador (26th February, 1948).

He seems harmless in spite of his doubtful record during the last war, but I never came into direct contact with him and therefore I cannot form a definite opinion.

Finland

Baron A. S. Yrjö-Koskinen, minister (8th December, 1948).

Resident in Angora.

A professional diplomatist of the old school. He recently paid a short visit to Tehran and, from what little I saw of him then, he seemed to me to be well informed and sensible as well as friendly.

France

Pierre Lafond, ambassador (20th October, 1945).

He is over 60, charming, cultivated, alert, inconsequent and deeply devout. He fought in the 1914-18 war and then entered the diplomatic service; returned to the army in 1939, but after the defeat of France he obtained an appointment in Tunisia. His open antagonism to Vichy caused him to be arrested by

the Germans and sent back to France, whence he escaped clandestinely over the Pyrenees and joined the Free French in Algiers after the occupation of North Africa by the Allies. Left a widower some two years ago with four young children, he failed conspicuously in his attempt to apply to them the mould which he has taken so well himself. They have now left him to live out the rest of his 19th century, it is to be hoped in peace.

M. Lafond can speak English quite well, though he scarcely ever does so, and in spite of some years of service in the Levant, he is a staunch supporter of Anglo-French solidarity.

Greece

Georges Coustas, chargé d'affaires (13th September, 1943).

*Rather a lightweight, but friendly. His wife, who comes from Istanbul, is musical and intelligent. They are well received in Tehran society. (Written in 1947.)

Holy See

Mgr. Paolo Pappalardo, Apostolic Delegate. Mgr. Pappalardo, who has been acting delegate since 1946, was recently appointed Archbishop of Apamea in Syria, Administrator of the Latin Archdiocese of Isfahan and Apostolic Delegate and has just returned to take up his new function. He is sometimes derided by the ultra-pious as being too broad-minded, but for my part I have always found him human, agreeable and well informed.

India

Syed Ali Zaheer, ambassador (26th January, 1948). A Shiah Moslem from Lucknow, formerly a member of the Interim Government of India. He is said to stand well with the Congress Party and Pandit Nehru. He does his best to be affable, but has given a good deal of offence in spite of this, since he came here. He is not on good terms with his staff. Mrs. Zaheer is intelligent and agreeable.

Iraq

Mohammad Salim Al-Radi, minister (10th July, 1947).

A politician without previous diplomatic experience, he is well informed and friendly, but rather blunt in manner. Quite recently he was suddenly informed of his recall, but, to his undisguised relief, this instruction was no less suddenly cancelled a few days later. He speaks English well, but less well than his young and beautiful wife. They are both prominent bridge fiends.

Italy

Marquis Alberto Rossi Longhi, ambassador (26th February, 1948).

Having few interests outside his office and his own household, he is perforce thrown back on the latter and rarely leaves home except on duty bent or to rummage for bargains in the town. Combined with a good table, the effect of this sedentary existence is already becoming apparent. Rossi Longhi was for some years in Canada. He is quite intelligent and, I am told, by nature industrious. This would account for his dislike of his present post. He and his charming wife both speak English well and are very friendly. I understand that they have strong Monarchist sympathies.

Lebanon

Dr. Salim Haïdar, minister (2nd October, 1946).

A young politician and university professor with no previous diplomatic experience, he is well read, an authority on Islamic literature and something of a poet. He is intelligent and friendly, and he and his wife go down well with the Persians, though he is clearly not thrilled with Tehran as a post and seems anxious to get back to Beirut.

Netherlands

W. P. Montijn, minister (14th March, 1948).

*Before coming to Persia he served in Australia and before that in the United States. He speaks English well and is most friendly in a rather ponderous way. His wife, who is attractive and a good deal younger than he, was brought up in America. She is bilingual. (Written in 1946.)

Norway

Hans C. Berg, minister (19th May, 1947).

Resident in Moscow.

Served formerly in Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He seems friendly and intelligent and has lost no time in absorbing the diplomatic atmosphere of Moscow. His wife is agreeable but rather ponderous.

Also a consul-general resident in Tehran.

Pakistan

Ghazanfar Ali Khan, ambassador (29th August, 1948).

An active Muslim League politician who was particularly successful as Minister of Refugees in 1947. He is a good type of Punjabi landowner, with excellent manners and considerable charm. One of the leading Shias of Pakistan, he is sociable and has a keen sense of humour.

Poland

Vacant, minister.

Kazimierz Smiganowski, chargé d'affaires (22nd July, 1947).

He hovers on the fringe of the satellite group and would like to be thought friendly by everyone.

Roumania

Ion Magheru, minister (8th November, 1948).

Brother of an ardent Communist and one of the few remaining professionals in the Roumanian service, he is reported to be the head of the Cominform organisation in Persia. He arrived overland from Turkey with very extensive luggage and has moved into a large house. I have known M. Magheru on and off for the past twelve years. He makes far too good an impression on the unwary. His technique here will no doubt be to try to lull them into complacency by parading a zeal for communism which his manner and appearance belie. In this way he may manage to persuade some of the over-smart that he is in fact a sheep in sheep's clothing.

Saudi Arabia

Hamzeh Ghows, minister (26th May, 1948).

Recently re-established the Saudi Arabian Legation here. He is amiable and insinuating, but a dreadful old humbug. He flaunts the picturesque simplicity of the desert tradition before the uninhibited Tehranis. But the effect has been considerably marred by the recent announcement of his marriage to a very young Persian lady, who is not expected to become permanently established.

Soviet Union

Ivan Vassilievitch Sadchikov, ambassador (26th March, 1946).

Youngish, thickset and unimpressive, looking more like an N.C.O. in the Red army than a diplomat. His only previous experience of foreign countries was Belgrade. He gives an impression of being rather lost in dealing with Persian conditions and seems to spend most of his time within the four walls of the Soviet Compound. He is said to be a purist in the matter of ideology and to have been charged by some of his compatriots with ignoring practical issues. He is allowed little latitude by Moscow and is extremely cautious in conversation, possibly on account of a natural tendency to be friendly which

he has constantly to keep in check. His periodical returns to Moscow always give rise to rumours that he will not return, which have hitherto been unfounded, though his health is indifferent and his visits to the Black Sea coast for recuperation seem to be genuine. Said to be blunt and brutal in his dealings with the Persians, probably on instructions. He speaks a little French and understands some English, though Soviet diplomatic usage makes it necessary for him always to use an interpreter.

Mme. Sadchikova is a negative quantity, pale, unhealthy-looking and apparently unhappy; she is closely watched by her "secretary" and seems timid and afraid.

Sweden

Vacant, minister.

Bengt Odhner, chargé d'affaires.

A civilised and friendly young man, who seems level-headed and practical and not at all dismayed at his task of looking after Swedish interests both here and in Iraq apparently indefinitely since the departure of the minister in 1947. A non-career officer with the rank of attaché, previously vice-consul at Milan.

Switzerland

Charles Edouard de Bavier, minister (22nd March, 1947).

Formerly in Rome and Athens. After acting for nearly two years as chargé d'affaires, with personal rank of minister, he presented letters in 1947. Pleasant and affable, but a lightweight of a type usually met with before the war on the French Riviera. In spite of his outward cheerfulness, he clearly makes little of Persia and longs to return to the sophisticated urbanities of Europe. His wife suffers from indifferent health and has even greater difficulty in fitting into the Iranian scene. She is friendly, talkative and somewhat overpowering.

Syria

Vacant, minister.

Farid Khani, chargé d'affaires.

He is quite intelligent in a dreary way, and is I believe politically active in Arab circles here, but in no sense an attractive personality.

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No. 50

PERSIA: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Attlee. (Received 20th July)

(No. 267. Confidential) *Tehran,*
Sir, *26th July, 1949.*

With reference to Foreign Office Circular No. 047 of the 14th December, 1944, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a report on the Heads of Foreign Diplomatic Missions at this post.

I have, &c.
J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 50

Report on Heads of Foreign Missions in Tehran

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Afghanistan

Ambassador. Rahimollah Khan (3rd February, 1947).

For some years Minister of Mines and Public Works and Roads at Kabul. A self-effacing little man, but agreeable and helpful. He speaks good English, and especially since the transfer of power in

Turkey

Kemal Köprülü, ambassador (24th May, 1945).

Very friendly and wide-awake, well informed and full of good sense. He is one of the outstanding members of the Diplomatic Corps, of which he became dean in 1946. Formerly in Kabul.

His wife, though she is said to be cultivated and witty in Turkish, is less westernised than her husband and is ponderous and monosyllabic, being unable to speak any language but Turkish.

United States

John C. Wiley, ambassador (6th April, 1948).

Transferred here after only a few months in Lisbon, his heart is still in Bogotá—his previous post. He showed no sign of taking Persia at all seriously until the result of the presidential elections became known. Mr. Wiley is of Irish extraction and I believe spent part of his childhood in France. Having over thirty years' service, he feels himself to be a veteran diplomatist and, in one sense no doubt he is, but he certainly is not fond of work and is capable of repeating himself almost indefinitely. He is also a confirmed *poseur* and, on occasion, makes a point of being rude. On the other hand, he is without doubt most friendly, warm-hearted and forthright, with a basis of sound common sense and a certain flair for essentials. He is a whole-hearted anti-Communist and a staunch supporter of Anglo-American friendship.

Mrs. Wiley is of Jewish race and Polish by birth. She is a competent artist and, for the rest, impulsive, tactless and hospitable. She does not suffer Philistines gladly. Both she and her husband are Roman Catholics. They are at times unaccountably swayed by personal impressions, but I suspect that, as a rule, it is Mrs. Wiley who calls the tune.

Yugoslavia

Vacant, minister.

Ivan Mirosevic, chargé d'affaires.

He asserted his loyalty to Tito at the time of the recent breach with the Cominform, which gave rise to the departure for Moscow of the minister, M. Alihodzic, who was too crude to be able to deal with that delicate situation. M. Mirosevic is rather insignificant but apparently friendly. He is not on good terms with the Russians, who boycotted his recent annual reception.

India is always anxious to show his friendliness to us. Has been involved in some publicity owing to the Helmand River dispute.

Argentina

Minister. Eduardo L. de Colombres Marmol (21st March, 1948).

*A young politician who has seen little of the world outside his own country and has had no previous experience of diplomacy. It is not conceivable that he will find anything to do here unless it is keep an eye on his Brazilian and United States colleagues. He is friendly but not in any way impressive, and is said to have some difficulty in preventing his heterogeneous staff (one of whom is a dentist by profession) from creating unfortunate minor incidents.

Mme. de Colombres is amiable but mousy, and must be a good deal older than her husband. (As in 1948 report.)

Belgium

Minister. Comte Antoine de Laubespain (12th January, 1946).

*Formerly Counsellor of the Belgian Embassy in London, he is well informed about and well disposed towards England. Intelligent and agreeable, but he has poor health and rather a pale personality. Both he and his French wife are most friendly. (Written in 1946.)

Brazil

Minister. Decio de Moura (14th October, 1947).

A young career diplomatist in his first ministerial post. He is intelligent and quick in his appreciation of the complexities of the political situation here, and most friendly both to us and the Americans.

Mme. de Moura is ornamental and agreeable. She is said to be very wealthy and is on intimate terms with Princess Ashraf. (As in 1948 report.)

Chile

Minister. Manuel Garretón (20th June, 1946). Resident in Angola.

A political appointee who was, on first arrival, reputed to have sympathy with the extreme Left. He lives at Angola and during his occasional visits to Persia he has contrived to keep his political views under stern control. I have not seen much of him, but he makes an agreeable impression. He seldom visits Tehran.

Mme. Garretón is charming and gook-looking.

China

Ambassador. Ye Tung-cheng (24th September, 1946).

He and his wife are both intelligent and friendly. They entertain generously and have a large family. The eldest son, of whom they are very proud, is an undergraduate at Oxford. Recent events in China have hit them very hard and they will shortly be leaving this post.

Czechoslovakia

Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires. Richard Slansky (8th January, 1949).

By profession a journalist, he is the brother of the Secretary-General of the Czech Communist Party and is probably the leading Communist among satellite members of the Diplomatic Corps here. His Government apparently sent him here as Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires with the intention of appointing him a Minister once he was in the country. This plan did not work and the Persian Government have asked for his recall on personal grounds. A Minister, M. Vavra, formerly Consul-General at Marseilles, is expected shortly.

M. Slansky is a grotesquely unattractive person, pretentious and obsequious by turn. His chief quality is probably the sincerity of his devotion to the Communist cause, which he does not conceal. He was in England as a refugee during the war and professes an admiration for England which may well be genuine. His wife is said to be English.

Denmark

Minister. Axel Kaspar Frederik Sporon-Fiedler (14th October, 1947).

*Before coming to Persia he was for many years Consul-General in San Francisco and had obviously taken root there. He is meticulously formal and precise, but hospitable and kindly.

Mrs. Sporon-Fiedler, though vague, is agreeable and has a somewhat clearer idea than her husband of what is going on round her. (As in 1948 report.)

Egypt

Chargé d'Affaires. Hussein Rouchdy (24th February, 1949).

A friendly colleague of the conventional type. Formerly in Washington. He was educated at Cambridge. In marked contrast to his Ambassador, who is absent but has not yet presented letters of recall, he is most anxious to be on the friendliest possible terms with this embassy. M. Rouchdy is a bachelor and speaks English almost too well.

Finland

Minister. Baron A. S. Yrjö-Koskinen (8th December, 1948). Resident in Angola.

*A professional diplomatist of the old school. He recently paid a short visit to Tehran and, from what little I saw of him then, he seemed to me to be well informed and sensible as well as friendly. (As in 1948 report.)

France

Ambassador. Pierre Lafond (20th September, 1945).

*He is over sixty, charming, cultivated, alert, inconsequent and deeply devout. He fought in the 1914-18 war and then entered the diplomatic service; returned to the Army in 1939, but after the defeat of France he obtained an appointment in Tunisia. His open antagonism to Vichy caused him to be arrested by the Germans and sent back to France, whence he escaped clandestinely over the Pyrenees and joined the Free French in Algiers after the occupation of North Africa by the Allies. Left a widower some two years ago with four young children, he failed conspicuously in his attempt to apply to them the mould which he has taken so well himself. They have now left him to live out the rest of his 19th century, it is hoped in peace.

M. Lafond can speak English quite well, though he scarcely ever does so, and in spite of some years of service in the Levant he is a staunch supporter of Anglo-French solidarity. (As in 1948 report.)

Greece

Chargé d'Affaires. Georges Coustas (13th September, 1943).

One of the veterans of the Diplomatic Corps here. He is friendly but somewhat opinionated. His wife is agreeable and has musical tastes. They are both well received in Tehran society.

Holy See

Apostolic Delegate. Mgr. Paolo Pappalardo.

*Mgr. Pappalardo, who has been acting delegate since 1946, was recently appointed Archbishop of Apamea in Syria, Administrator of the Latin Archdiocese of Isfahan and Apostolic Delegate and has just returned to take up his new function. He is

sometimes decried by the ultra-pious as being too broad-minded, but for my part I have always found him human, agreeable and well-informed. (As in 1948 report.)

Iraq

Minister. Tahsin Qadri (5th June, 1949).

Appointed and presented letters a few days before the visit of the Prince Regent; he left again about three weeks later and accompanied His Royal Highness to London. During Tahsin Qadri's brief tenure the post was raised to an Embassy, but he did not present new credentials and he is not expected to return.

Italy

Ambassador. Marquis Alberto Rossi Longhi (26th February, 1948).

*Having few interests outside his office and his own household, he is perforce thrown back on the latter and rarely leaves home except on duty bent or to rummage for bargains in the town. Combined with a good table, the effect of this sedentary existence is already becoming apparent. Rossi Longhi was for some years in Canada. He is quite intelligent and, I am told, by nature industrious. This alone would account for his dislike of his present post. He and his charming wife both speak English well and are very friendly. I understand that they have strong monarchist sympathies. (As in 1948 report.)

Lebanon

Minister. Dr. Salim Haidar (2nd October, 1946).

*A young politician and University professor with no previous diplomatic experience, he is well read, an authority on Islamic literature and something of a poet. He is intelligent and friendly, and he and his wife go down well with the Persians, though he is clearly not thrilled with Tehran as a post and seems anxious to get back to Beirut. (As in 1948 report.)

Netherlands

Minister. W. P. Montijn (14th March, 1948).

*Before coming to Persia he served in Australia and before that in the United States. He speaks English well and is most friendly in a rather ponderous way. His wife, who is attractive and a good deal younger than he, was brought up in America. She is bilingual. (Written in 1946.)

Norway

Minister. Hans C. Berg (19th May, 1947). Resident in Moscow.

*Served formerly in Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He seems friendly and intelligent and has lost no time in absorbing the diplomatic atmosphere of Moscow. His wife is agreeable but rather ponderous.

Also a Consul-General resident in Tehran. (As in 1948 report.)

Poland

Minister. Vacant.

Chargé d'Affaires. Kazimierz Smiganowski (22nd July, 1947).

*He hovers on the fringe of the satellite group and would like to be thought friendly by everyone. (As in 1948 report.)

Roumania

Minister. Ion Magheru (8th November, 1948).

*Brother of an ardent Communist and one of the few remaining professionals in the Roumanian service, he is reported to be the Head of the Cominform organisation in Persia. He arrived overland from Turkey with very extensive luggage and has moved into a large house. I have known M. Magheru on and off for the past twelve years. He makes far

too good an impression on the unwary. His technique here will no doubt be to try to lull them into complacency by parading a zeal for Communism which his manner and appearance belie. In this way he may manage to persuade some of the oversmart that he is, in fact, a sheep in sheep's clothing. (As in 1948 report.)

Saudi Arabia

Minister. Hamzeh Ghows (26th May, 1948).

Recently re-established the Saudi Arabian legation here. He is amiable and insinuating, but a dreadful old humbug. He flaunts the picturesque simplicity of the desert tradition before the uninhibited Tehranis. But the effect has been considerably marred by the recent announcement of his marriage to a very young Persian lady who is not expected to become permanently established. (As in 1948 report.)

Soviet Union

Ambassador. Ivan Vassilievitch Sadchikov (26th March, 1946).

*Youngish, thickset and unimpressive, looking more like an N.C.O. in the Red Army than a diplomat. His only previous experience of foreign countries was Belgrade. He gives an impression of being rather lost in dealing with Persian conditions and seems to spend most of his time within the four walls of the Soviet Compound. He is said to be a purist in the matter of ideology and to have been charged by some of his compatriots with ignoring practical issues. He is allowed little latitude by Moscow and is extremely cautious in conversation, possibly on account of a natural tendency to be friendly which he has constantly to keep in check. His periodical returns to Moscow give rise always to rumours that he will not return, which have hitherto been unfounded, though his health is indifferent and his visits to the Black Sea coast for recuperation seem to be genuine. Said to be blunt and brutal in his dealings with the Persians, probably on instructions. He speaks a little French and understands some English, though Soviet diplomatic usage makes it necessary for him always to use an interpreter.

Mme. Sadchikova is a negative quantity, pale, unhealthy-looking and apparently unhappy; she is closely watched by her "secretary" and seems timid and afraid. (As in 1948 report.)

Sweden

Minister. Harry Eriksson.

Formerly Minister to South Africa. He seems ponderously cheerful and agreeable. Also accredited to Bagdad.

Switzerland

Minister. Charles Edouard de Bavier (22nd March, 1947).

*Formerly in Rome and Athens. After acting for nearly two years as Chargé d'Affaires, with personal rank of Minister, he presented letters in 1947. Pleasant and affable, but a lightweight of a type usually met with before the war on the French Riviera. In spite of his outward cheerfulness, he clearly makes little of Persia and longs to return to the sophisticated urbanities of Europe. His wife suffers from indifferent health and has even greater difficulty in fitting into the Persian scene. She is friendly, talkative and somewhat overpowering. (As in 1948 report.)

Syria

Minister. Vacant.

Chargé d'Affaires. Farid Khani.

*He is quite intelligent in a dreary way, and is, I believe, politically active in Arab circles here, but in no sense an attractive personality. (As in 1948 report.)

Turkey

Ambassador. Kemal Köprülü (24th May, 1945).

*Very friendly and wide-awake, well-informed and full of good sense. He is one of the outstanding members of the Diplomatic Corps, of which he became dean in 1946. Formerly in Kabul.

His wife, though she is said to be cultivated and witty in Turkish, is less westernised than her husband and is ponderous and monosyllabic, being unable to speak any language but Turkish.

United States

Ambassador. John C. Wiley (6th April, 1948).

*Transferred here after only a few months in Lisbon, his heart is still in Bogotà—his previous post. He showed no sign of taking Persia at all seriously until the result of the presidential elections became known. Mr. Wiley is of Irish extraction and I believe spent part of his childhood in France. Having over thirty years' service he feels himself to be a veteran diplomatist and in one sense no doubt he is, but he certainly is not fond of work and is capable of repeating himself indefinitely. He is also a confirmed *poseur* and, on occasion, makes a point of

being rude. On the other hand, he is without doubt most friendly, warm-hearted and forthright, with a basis of sound common sense and a certain flair for essentials. He is a whole-hearted anti-Communist and a staunch supporter of Anglo-American friendship.

Mrs. Wiley is of Jewish race and Polish by birth. She is a competent artist and, for the rest, impulsive, tactless and hospitable. She does not suffer Philistines gladly. Both she and her husband are Roman Catholics. They are at times unaccountably swayed by personal impressions, but I suspect that as a rule it is Mrs. Wiley who calls the tune. (As in 1948 report.)

Yugoslavia

Minister. Petar Rajickovic (30th March, 1949).

A friendly type of Communist missionary. There can be no doubt of his sincerity, nor is there any apparent limit to his proselytising zeal. M. Rajickovic is new to diplomacy, being a lawyer by profession. During the war he played an active part in the Partisan movement. He seems to have no difficulty in maintaining cordial relations with the satellite Missions here.